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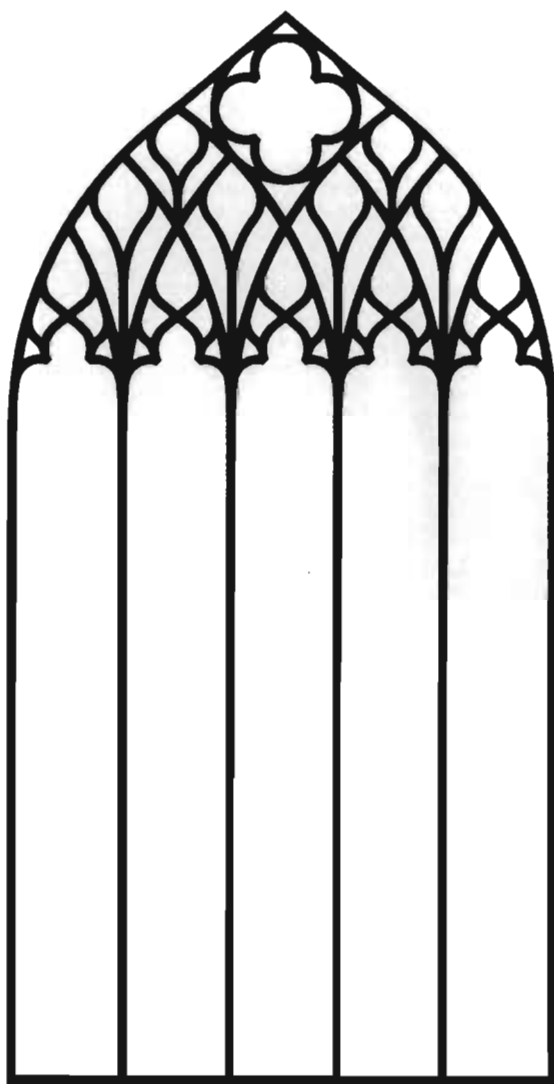
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JOURNAL OF MORMON HISTORY



SPRING 1999

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COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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Leonard J. Arrington
(photograph by Kent Miles)

IN MEMORIAM, LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

2 July 1917-11 February 1999

Early in the morning of Thursday, 11 February 1999, Leonard J. Arrington died at his home of congestive heart failure. He was eighty-one. As acknowledged dean of Mormon historians and founder of the Mormon History Association, he set both the tone and the pace of the New Mormon History, particularly during the 1970s when he became the first (and so far only) professionally trained historian to serve as LDS Church Historian. He was called to this position in 1972, set apart, and sustained in general conference; he was released by a letter from the First Presidency in 1982. None of his successors has been sustained by conference vote as Church Historian.

The third of eleven children born to Noah W. Arrington and Edna Corn Arrington of Twin Falls, Leonard received his B.A. in economics from the University of Idaho and his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina. He received honorary doctorates from the University of Idaho and Utah State University. He taught at Utah State University for twenty-six years, and also taught at the University of Genoa, UCLA, and BYU. He married Grace Fort in Raleigh, North Carolina on 24 April 1943 and they became the parents of three children: James Wesley, Carl Wayne, and Susan. After Grace's death on 10 March 1982, he married Harriet Ann Horne, who had four children: Annette, Heidi, Rick, and Stephen.

The *Journal of Mormon History*, edited by Leonard from 1985 to 1987, honors him in this issue with the statements made by participants in a memorial service at Salt Lake City on 15 February planned by Jan Shippis and Dean and Cheryl May ("Remembering Leonard"), statements received in response to an open invitation ("Voices of Memory"), a closer look at the History Division/Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint His-

tory from Ronald K. Esplin, Leonard's successor as director ("Documents and Dusty Tomes: The Adventure of Arrington, Esplin, and Young"), and an evaluative essay by Ronald W. Walker ("Mormonism's 'Happy Warrior': Appreciating Leonard J. Arrington"). A comprehensive bibliography by David J. Whittaker will follow in the fall issue. The *Journal* expresses keenest appreciation to these contributors.

Two funeral services were held for Leonard, one on Tuesday, 16 February, in Salt Lake City where Leonard had lived since 1972, and one in Logan, where Leonard had begun his teaching career, where he and Grace raised their children, and where he is buried.

At the Salt Lake City service, speakers included a gospel message from Richard A. "Skip" Christensen, Leonard's former bishop and home teacher at the time of his death, and colleagues William Mulder, Thomas G. Alexander (both in "Voices"), and Davis Bitton (summarized here; a statement Davis made at the memorial service is included in "Remembering Leonard.") Leonard's brother Ross played an arrangement with variations of "Listen to the Mockingbird," one of Leonard's favorites since it recalled the lift of the heart he felt listening to a mockingbird sing while waiting for news of whether he had passed his doctoral orals (he had); Ross also accompanied JoAnn Ottley as she sang Puccini's "O Mio Babbino Caro," another of Leonard's favorites.

Two family members also addressed the congregation: daughter Susan Arrington Madsen and stepdaughter Heidi S. Swinton, both of whom had coauthored books with Leonard and later become authors in their own right. (Susan gave expanded remarks at the Logan service; see below.) Heidi Swinton described how Leonard "embraced our family in 1983—four grown children

Audiocassettes are available from Steve Mayfield, 1640 N. 400 West Apt. 1S, Layton, UT 84041: (1) For \$25: a four-tape set includes the Monday evening memorial service, the funeral in Salt Lake City at which President Hinckley spoke, and the memorial service in Logan, plus recordings of two of Leonard's last public appearances in the fall—a book signing and a Friends of the Library afternoon at the University of Utah featuring his *Adventures of a Church Historian*. (2) For \$7 apiece: separate audiocassettes of the memorial service, and the two funerals in Salt Lake City and in Cache Valley.

Videotapes of the Monday memorial service and Cache Valley funeral service are available for \$15 apiece from Robert G. Vernon, 1782 S. 25th E., Salt Lake City, UT 84108.

Prices include postage and handling.

and ten grandchildren.” She regaled the audience with family memories of Leonard humming Puccini at basketball games, pounding out manuscripts on his Olympia manual typewriter (Harriet retyped them into her computer), proudly displaying a six-foot chicken in the front yard that Heidi’s brother had found in Arizona, and calling Heidi twice four days before his death with “additional ideas and resources” for a Joseph Smith project she was working on. “There was no grandstanding with Leonard,” she said. “He knew whose work he was doing. He had ears to hear the Lord.”

Davis Bitton, assistant Church historian with Jim Allen from 1972 to 1982, said, “Leonard was my closest, dearest friend. . . . I was with him almost every day. Leonard loved our Latter-day Saint history and its people, high and low, male and female, Caucasian and non-Caucasian. He wanted to tell our history in a way that would be true to its richness, that would recognize both its wonderful humanity and the divinity that shapes its ends, that would be honest and true and therefore credible.” He described Leonard, breeze ruffling his white hair, standing on Ensign Peak and earnestly counseling his colleagues from the LDS Church History Division, in the words of Ezekiel, to “make these bones live” as they wrote history. Leonard Arrington was “loyal” to his family, friends, the “highest standards of his profession. True to his covenants, he was loyal to something larger than himself—the Church and Kingdom of God on earth and its prophetic leadership.”

President Hinckley, who had called Harriet when he learned of Leonard’s death and offered to speak at the funeral, quipped that Leonard is “the only man I know who has Brigham Young in his posterity” (a reference to son James Arrington’s very popular portrayal of “Brother Brigham”). With the humor for which President Hinckley is well known, he added: “I don’t know where historians will fit into the next life. I don’t know what they’re going to have to write about. Maybe there’s a place in some dusty archive somewhere where they can get together and talk about the past; they’re always concerned with the past. . . . Historians are usually concerned with the dusty tomes of history, but Leonard was a happy man. What a marvelous thing it was to draw happiness out of history.” Because the scriptures promise “many mansions” in the afterlife, “maybe there’s a mansion for historians.”

Speaking warmly on a more personal note, he continued: “I regard Leonard as a man who loved the Lord. . . . He believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . He believed in the vision of the Prophet Joseph Smith, . . . in the angels who came to visit him. He believed in the leadership of Brigham Young. It . . . was from the stuff of those wonderful experiences of the founders and leaders of this Church that came the grist that became his

books and for which he was noted. . . . I'm grateful to have known him, grateful to have encountered a friend, grateful to have seen his works and become acquainted with his tremendous personality. . . . I never saw meanness in his nature. I never saw anything of ill will and I'm grateful for that. . . . I'm thankful for his integrity in the writing of history. . . . God bless his memory."

At the funeral in Cache Valley on Wednesday, 17 February, F. Dean Madsen, Leonard's son-in-law and president of Hyde Park Stake, conducted the services and gave an inspirational message. Speakers included F. Ross Peterson and Reed Bullen (excerpts from both included in "Voices of Memory"), and Susan Arrington Madsen, who had also spoken in Salt Lake City. Solos were by granddaughter Rebecca E. Madsen, "Abide with Me, 'Tis Eventide," and tenor Michael Ballam, "Panis Angelicus" by Cesar Franck. Also speaking in this service were Annette S. Rogers, Harriet's daughter, and Leonard's and Grace's three children: James, Susan, and Carl. Leonard's children and stepchildren brought both laughter and tender moments as they told stories about Leonard and their respective mothers.

Annette Rogers drew on the story of the Last Supper. "What is it like when you've been a mighty leader all of your life and you've taught all your life, and you've exemplified who you are, and suddenly you're moving on. What do you say to your little band of people? What do you give them to hold on?" She quoted: "Having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end," and continued, "'His own' reminds me of Leonard. It's been a great privilege to be at the house, to answer the door and the phone. Everyone who knew Leonard felt that they were one of his own." She credited herself with having arranged for Leonard and Harriet to meet. (Harriet had served as ward Relief Society president in Twin Falls, Idaho, as the young mother of three while Leonard's father was bishop.) "All of a sudden we had a dad, and our children had a grandfather. He wrote them letters. He liked my stage stuff. He liked my sister's pies. He liked my brother's photography." She quoted Jesus's prayer about his disciples: "Those that thou gavest me I have kept" (John 17:12), again likening it to Leonard's ability to make and keep friends. "God has given us each other, and aren't we lucky?"

James described how Leonard "always had a book but the children never minded because he would always put it down and without saying, 'Let me finish this chapter first.'" As a small child, James used to sit on the back of Leonard's overstuffed chair as Leonard read, brushing his hair "and he seemed to be happy when I was through no matter which way his hair was going." He related Leonard's enthusiastic and delighted support for his acting career, including Leonard's contributions to James's best-known dramatic persona in *Here's Brother Brigham*. They ended up a few years ago

making a pact to “just say thank you,” instead of trying to set the record straight, when people congratulated James on writing *Great Basin Kingdom* or Leonard on his portrayal of Brigham Young.

Susan described the solemn sacrament meeting in which the Arrington family poignantly bade farewell to their Logan ward of many years before moving to Salt Lake City where Leonard would take up his duties as Church historian. But solemnity was not Leonard’s natural mood. Out on the lawn afterwards, attired in his suit and tie, Leonard challenged twenty-four-year-old James to a “chicken” fight. Holding up one foot, the two hopped about, bumping and charging each other in an effort to make the other lose his balance or lower his foot to the ground.

She also described happy moments of family life, with Leonard ram-paging blindfolded around the living room, bumping recklessly into the furniture during a game of blind man’s bluff, singing exuberantly, relishing Grace’s Southern specialties, and twenty-eight years of faithful family letters to each child. Susan coauthored two books with Leonard. When she proposed a third book, he praised the concept but urged her to do it on her own. “He knew when it was time for a child, a student, or an apprentice to fly solo.” Speaking affectionately of Harriet’s family, Susan observed, “The truth of the matter is that there was enough of Leonard Arrington to go around for everyone. He had dear friends and admirers from all over the country, from every walk of life, and from a broad spectrum of religious beliefs.”

Carl described Leonard’s coaching of the Adams School baseball team when Carl was in fourth, fifth, and sixth grades—his expectations of “hustle,” his welcome to the greenest as well as to the most skilled, his commitment that everyone would play in every game. “What Leonard gave all of us on that team more valuable than a trophy was a feeling of confidence, camaraderie, and pride in team accomplishment,” summarized Carl. “There were some great athletes on our team, but there were no stars. He was the coach of a *team*.”

Then he continued, “Papa was as American as baseball. He had an innate commitment to fellowship, freedom, independence, excellence, hard work, self sacrifice and personal integrity. He was a man driven by high ideals who learned to inspire the best from those he was around. He was no Vince Lombardi for whom winning was everything. For Papa the truth was everything—for truth, that historian’s holy grail, embodies charity, honor, honesty, good works and faith. . . . It was amazing the mass of truth Papa discovered simply because he was always looking for it.”

The following week, the Idaho State legislature passed a memorial resolution “recognizing the accomplishment of a native son of the state of Idaho, Leonard James Arrington, and joining with his many friends and

colleagues expressing our sympathy to his family and our appreciation for his many contributions.”

REMEMBERING LEONARD

February 15, 1999

Editor's Note: Harriet Horne Arrington, in a thoughtful gesture to allow Leonard's friends in Mormon history to say a collective good-bye, requested that Jan Shipps and Dean L. May organize a memorial service the evening before the funeral and welcomed the offer of the Journal of Mormon History to publish the comments. This service was held in the Ashton Room of Carlson Hall, University of Utah, Jan Shipps presiding, and Dean L. May conducting. The Tanner Humanities Center and the Department of History of the University of Utah helped sponsor the gathering. June Jessee sang the opening song, "O My Father," to Brigham Young's favorite tune for that hymn, "Gentle Annie." Paul L. Anderson gave the opening prayer, Barnard Silver the benediction. Because of time limitations, some of the remarks were given in condensed form with a more complete version being printed here. Ron Esplin's remarks have been expanded to article length, "Documents and Dusty Tomes: The Adventure of Arrington, Esplin, and Young," this issue. The first eight statements had been faxed to Dean May and were read alternately by Jan and Dean.

Claudia L. Bushman

Many years ago, my husband came home from historical meetings and told me that he had talked to Leonard Arrington about my work. I was surprised and embarrassed to hear it, because I was only a lowly housewife, working part-time on a doctorate, doing projects with my Boston consciousness-raising group.

Leonard was not only interested, he took notes on what Richard told him and soon there was a long, friendly letter with suggestions and offers of help. I was thunderstruck. Nobody took any notice of such as we were then.

But he kept in touch, and his help and encouragement led eventually to the publication of *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah* which we dedicated to him with the words: "He takes us seriously."

And just think how many others he was encouraging and taking seriously at the same time, while turning out his own excellent work. We will not see his like again.

Richard L. Bushman

Leonard sent us a copy of his biography of Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver before his death. It was the last publication he saw through the press, published in early December 1998. I opened it at random to get the flavor of the story and stood by the kitchen sink for a quarter of an hour, transfixed by the courtship of Madelyn and Harold Silver. As I tore myself away to get back to work, I thought to myself: This is the work of a master story-teller. He is able to get inside the mind and heart of a girl he never knew and tell you the truth about her.

Leonard has the most prized of all the historian's gifts—imagination. Whether telling the story of a girl in love or reconstructing conditions in the sugar beet industry, he could bring whole worlds into being. His masterpiece, *Great Basin Kingdom*, recreated a people, a region, a mind set, an economy, a social dream.

We loved him for his warmth, good humor, generosity, courage, and vision, but we honor him for his genius in recreating the past.

Paul M. Edwards

Thanks be to God who allows us such human examples to give direction to our own lives. It has often been difficult for me to sort through the chaff to honestly identify the expectations of Christian love. I tend to want to abstract love and to make it applicable in a collective manner that can be done without the necessity of individual risk. But the full meaning of a life of purpose and of love is so much more clearly identified, though rarely seen, in the life of a man or a woman who, having been touched by the spirit of tenderness, touches others.

Since Leonard Arrington first extended himself to make me feel accepted, this man has been the example by whom I have been encouraged in my efforts and chastised in my inability. He always seemed to be there to promote my efforts, to expand my professionalism. He easily acknowledged my desire to understand. But far more than that, he was a friend who was present even when I was most unlovable, and he cared for me when I most needed care. I am deeply grateful for the presence—and the message—of Leonard Arrington.

Stanley B. Kimball

I first met Leonard flying home from Canada in the early 1960s. Our last meeting was on paper—when I read *Adventures of a Church Historian* a few weeks after it came out and wrote Leonard this letter on 20 July 1998 (slightly edited here for publication):

Dear Leonard:

I just finished your memoir, and it brought back so many pleasant

and important memories. One special memory was when you participated in the "Mormons in Early Illinois" conference in 1968 here at my university—an early attempt to foster cooperation and fellowship between LDS and RLDS historians.

Another special memory was when you encouraged me to do a biography/documentary on Heber C. Kimball in 1972. I later suggested a full-dress bio and you got me a contract with Deseret Book, even though it was ultimately printed by the University of Illinois Press. During the writing, you gave me much advice and help. You even asked Davis Bitton to give the last draft a good scrubbing. Thanks! Your blurb on the jacket was, to quote your own word, "superb." When the HCK biography came out, I brought you a presentation copy. I was sitting down while we chatted, then said, "Well, I'll have to get up to give this to you." And you replied, "Well then, I'll have to kneel down to receive it." And you did!

Over the years, you generously complimented me about some of my publications. Both of us contributed a Christmas story for Deseret Book's 1998 *I'll Be Home for Christmas*, mine on Prague of 1950, yours on Rome in 1944. You took the effort to tell me how much you liked what I wrote.

So on and on after the years. It has been rewarding and pleasant. In 1980 you gave me an office in the History Division with amenities, so I could make the best of a sabbatical. For a season I experienced a small part of Camelot. You also honored me with the Grace Fort Arrington Award and made a Davis County country boy feel right at home with the big boys and girls.

I noted with great interest your description in *Adventures of the family "chronicles"* you prepared because I'm trying to do something similar. And of course, like you, I had the good sense to marry a North Carolina girl. In this book, you let us look over your shoulder while you were in the throes of creation. I savored your humorous tone throughout.

Of most value, however, is your insider story of Camelot. It is most satisfying to get that famous episode and its regrettable dénouement told fully and properly. Your careful but candid references to things of faith and truth were—I think the right word would be—comforting, so helpful and encouraging to those of us who try to render mind service to our God and are sometimes unappreciated.

Your open and frank discussion of your research and administrative disappointments helps diminish the sorrows and disappointments many others of our guild have likewise experienced. Let me share a disappointment I had many years ago when my university was building our Mormons in Early Illinois microfilm collection. I wanted to copy some documents in the Church Historical Department and presented the request to Joseph

Fielding Smith, then an apostle and Church Historian. He assured me that I could copy them; I was to tell A. William Lund to take care of it. I did and Brother Lund told me to come back the next day. I did, and he informed me that I must surely have been mistaken about the whole incident. I never got anything. It was not exactly faith-promoting.

Another disappointment came when I planned our 1968 conference on the Mormons in Early Illinois. I invited Richard Howard as RLDS Church Historian and Earl Olsen, then assistant Church historian, to attend. Earl agreed to come, wanted to come, and should have come. Joseph Fielding Smith, the Church Historian, however would not let him attend because the state of Illinois had killed his grandfather. I appealed to Elder Howard W. Hunter who thought he could spring Earl—to no avail.

Your comments (p. 155) that you had expected one of your duties would be to act as a historical consultant to the General Authorities was tough and disappointing reading. It reminded me of the time that “Uncle Spencer” W. Kimball had me and David Kennedy in his office and suggested to Brother Kennedy that my background in East Europe might be helpful in his work as Church ambassador. I was then a specialist in modern European history. I spent years keeping up with events in East Europe. I went behind the Iron Curtain twenty times. And I never had the opportunity to consult with Brother Kennedy or anyone else in the Church. I was, as Damon Runyon might say, considerably more disappointed than somewhat. I shouldn’t have been surprised. I remember as a young man naively commenting once to a New Testament scholar at BYU how great it must be to help and advise Church leaders; in this respect, he too was deeply disheartened. I do, however, derive much pleasure in having been able to contribute to the success of the Mormon Trail celebrations of 1996-97.

So, my dear, dear friend and mentor, thanks not only for a great read but for much inspiration, help, hope, and encouragement regarding our individual and collective attempts at mind service.

Klaus J. Hansen

I first met “Dr. Arrington” in 1958 when he talked to the history students at Brigham Young University about the research and writing of his magisterial *Great Basin Kingdom*. Recognizing it as a landmark of Mormon history, we aspired to emulate its example in our own work. Not long after completing my Ph.D., I joined the history department at Utah State University in 1965 where I came to appreciate Leonard as a genial colleague (though he was formally attached to the Economics Department) and supportive mentor. It was with amazement that I observed first hand his enormous energy, not only as a prolific scholar, but also in his contribution to

the professionalization of Mormon history as he became founding president of the Mormon History Association and promoted the cause of Mormon studies in other professional organizations and journals.

After I left for Queen's University, Canada, in 1968, he continued to follow my own scholarly pursuits with encouragement and interest. In 1974, Church Historian Arrington invited me as a summer fellow to do research at the Historical Department in a memorable summer that led to better acquaintance and friendship not only with Leonard but with a whole generation of Mormon scholars who may be regarded as Leonard's "children."

Davis Bitton has called Leonard "the single most important Mormon historian of his generation." If that assessment rests to a large extent on his published scholarship, it also rests on his service to the cause of Mormon history and on his indelible imprint on a generation of historians who mourn his death and celebrate his lasting achievement.

Mario S. De Pillis

For me, Leonard J. Arrington's most notable achievement, one that rivaled his enormous productivity, was his role as the presiding spirit of the community of Mormon scholars. I wonder how our community can survive without Leonard's jovial and wise spirit to mentor the young and inspire the old. But for me there was another dimension to Leonard: We both belonged to the World War II generation. We shared the experience of dire times, Leonard in the Mediterranean Basin and I in Germany.

Despite voluminous correspondence in the late fifties, we did not meet face to face till the summer of 1961, when Leonard and his wife Grace hosted my entire family of five in their modest house in Logan. As I went through our correspondence since the 1950s, I was struck by his last letter, no longer typewritten single space but scrawled in a large hand. After some characteristically generous remarks about certain books and authors, he added a postscript out of the blue: "I recalled with fondness our first meeting in Logan."

Leonard, I also remember that meeting, and I hope you can take us into your house once again.

Liz Dulany

Although most of Leonard Arrington's books were originally published by other presses, their rebirth and continuing life under the University of Illinois Press imprint has been—and will continue to be—a cornerstone of our program in Mormon studies, as Leonard himself has been a motivating force. It is hard for us at the press—as I'm sure it is for everyone who has ever known or worked with Leonard—to imagine how life is going to be without him.

As an editor I feel particularly privileged to have been able to bring into print his own history as he saw it. It was a great personal pleasure to me to remark to him afterward, as he was enjoying the fruits of his labors—the book signings, the press notices, the accolades—that apparently there would not, after all, be “repercussions.”

I feel so *lucky* to have been a small part of Leonard’s history to have known him, to have worked with him, to have shared some ups and downs with him, to have basked a little in his light, and recently to have won a special recognition from him that makes all else pale by comparison. Leonard’s importance to Mormon history cannot be calculated; neither can the privilege of having known him be measured. [Liz was the 1998 recipient of the Grace Fort Arrington Award for Historical Excellence.]

Martin E. Marty,
Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished Service Professor
The University of Chicago

My times in person with Leonard Arrington were few—a visit in Utah, a time together at the Mormon Historical Association, brief chats at the American Historical Association. But my times with his writings were many and long. Not only was he the most consistent source on Latter-Day Saint history for the Saints but also for the rest of us. He was respected in the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians as someone who would give an accurate accounting of Mormon history in the larger context.

When historians belong to groups that sociologists call “cognitive minorities,” they have the opportunity to (a) kick over the traces and show anger to the place from which they come, (b) turn apologist, (c) equivocate on controversial points, or (d) do a public relations job, glib from start to finish. Leonard avoided all of these ways of being. These days few historians give much credence to the theme of “objectivity.” But there are many of us who think historians can be “fair-minded” and be “disinterested” where that matters. In respect to a religious group, this means: critical loyalty and loyal criticism. There was never any doubt but that Arrington loved the tradition that often inspired and too often frustrated him.

For a few years the sign of “openness” blazed across the Saints’ skies. Very responsibly, Arrington helped open archives to historians across the spectrum. He has to have known there was a sanctum no one could pierce from outside; the Salt Lake City instance is not the only one! But he saw to it that for a half generation people like himself of three generations had access. The relative closing of the archives to historians was a self-defensive move, one that showed mistrust and lack of knowledge of the way historians work. But, undeterred, Arrington kept encouraging Mormons and non-

Mormons alike to pursue the story of the Saints. When a faith relies as much on story as the Mormon version does, there are more risks than when the origins of faith lie in mythical pasts. Arrington knew how to take risks and when to show love—and he showed love for the tradition!—and when to be restrained. It's hard to picture the historical profession handling his subjects with as much care and carefulness as it did when his watchful eye was on the productions of historians. Yet enough people were inspired by him that, even with handicaps in respect to archival access, we can picture that elements of the story will keep being told. Many could be labeled, "To honor the memory of Leonard Arrington."

Dean L. May

I first met Leonard at a Boston Stake Education Week meeting early in 1973. Cheryll and I were both completing our doctoral studies in Massachusetts. He came into my life at about the time my own father died and remained thereafter something of a father to me, an aspect of our friendship that he probably was not aware of and probably would not have been comfortable with.

Not long after his visit to Boston I received a letter offering me a position with the History Division of the Church Historical Department which brought us to Salt Lake City in December of 1973. Since my dissertation was on a New Deal topic at Brown, not noted for its western history offerings, I was surprised and delighted at the opportunity to move west. And I much appreciated the generosity and forbearance that Leonard and others of his staff extended to me as I underwent a crash course in Mormon history.

Though I worked on several projects there, the most important to me was our collaboration with the deceased Feramorz Young Fox on *Building the City of God*. Our study of Mormon communitarianism did much to shape my subsequent scholarly interests and endeavors. I was young and ambitious; at times I chafed under his mentoring. But Leonard was unfailingly kind and generous in his encouraging me, giving me opportunities I would never otherwise have enjoyed. I left the History Division in the summer of 1997 to accept an appointment as founding director of the Center for Historical Population Studies and assistant professor of history at the University of Utah.

About that time Leonard gave me a gift I will always treasure. I had purchased in Cambridge a first edition copy of his master work, *Great Basin Kingdom*, and asked him to autograph it for me. He gladly did so, writing "For Dean May: A colleague, friend, admired collaborator." Then, apparently deciding he had not been generous enough, he took the book back,

and with carats, edited it to read "A RESPECTED colleague, WARM friend, admired collaborator."

It was so like him always to be concerned with buoying up and encouraging others in their life and work. We remained close, and he continued to influence my career in important ways and at critical junctures. Like so many, I will miss him greatly—my PATIENT mentor, LOYAL friend, GIFTED collaborator, and NURTURING father.

I love Leonard Arrington. One day he will greet me again with that warm smile and hearty handshake, and we will talk and laugh and he will ask me what I am working on, and his eyes will twinkle while we sing "And Here We have Idaho" together.

Jan Shippis

Although he was in residence at Utah State during the 1960-61 academic year—my only year as a student in Zion—I did not have the privilege of having as a professor the author of the new and justly celebrated economic history of the Latter-day Saints in the nineteenth century. Instead, like many non-Mormon and lots of Latter-day Saint history students, my acquaintance with Leonard Arrington began as I read the first few pages of his *Great Basin Kingdom*. New to religious history, I did not then realize how extraordinary it was for the preface to a work of religious history to treat as peers readers who regard a sacred text like the Book of Mormon as a symbolic repository of truth as well and readers for whom such a text is literally true. When I first read it, the thing I found in Leonard's book that to me was truly extraordinary was the story it told. Along with a first-rate research seminar for history students conducted by Everett Cooley (who, that year, was teaching at Utah State), *Great Basin Kingdom* was the generative force that moved me into Mormon history.

Graduate school for me was the University of Colorado at Boulder which had a distinguished faculty in the history of the American West but no faculty member with the least bit of Mormon history expertise. This meant that I needed long-distance mentors, and I was extremely fortunate to have two wonderful mentors: Ev Cooley, who at that time was director of the Utah State Historical Society, and Leonard. It is probable that very few of those in this room needed long-distance mentors. But I am very sure that virtually everyone here could tell similar stories of how helpful Leonard was in reading and commenting on drafts of articles and even books. In addition, it is a wonder that this extraordinary scholar ever got anything done because he was so willing to give up his own research time to spend time talking with others pursuing Latter-day Saint history projects.

In my case, it was often like a calculus teacher who had to instruct his student in simple arithmetic. But in our shared conversations about the

Mormon past, Leonard encouraged me to move ahead. His greater gift, however, was imparting to me what I think of as the immanence of Mormonism (its way of being in the world), and its transcendence. I was first a part of a family home evening in the Arrington home. And I shared many meals first with Leonard, Grace, and family, and afterward with Leonard and Harriet.

But it is the transcendence I want to talk about. Soon after he was sustained as Church Historian, Leonard was asked to respond to a reader's query in the Q&A column of the October 1972 *New Era*. The question was from a youngster who wanted to know how you know when you receive the Holy Ghost. In his answer Leonard referred to a spiritual experience he had when he was a graduate student. Intrigued and impressed I wrote to Leonard to tell him how much I liked his answer. During my next research trip, Leonard and I had a choice conversation in which he told me about a powerful mystical opening in which he perceived his connection to all the Saints who had lived long before he did. In this beautiful visit, the invisible barrier that, despite all, tends to separate Saints from their fellow Christians disappeared and we were ushered into direct communication about what it is that underlies faith.

Now fast forward past the two decades in which Camelot happened and came to an end, the "move south" into a new Smith Institute which never really became Leonard's professional home, and a working retirement that became his way of life. Among his many projects, Leonard edited his memoirs and submitted the manuscript that would become *Adventures of a Church Historian* to the University of Illinois Press. As is her wont, Liz Dulany called me to chat about appropriate readers, saying at one point that she wished I had time to read it. In a trice—whatever a trice is—I said, "I'll make time." And I did. A day or two later the manuscript arrived. I opened it, thought I would sample it, and found myself pushing other commitments aside as this manuscript moved rapidly to the top of my reading list.

Although the early chapters seemed a bit slow, the work gathered steam as I read and very soon it became the story of the Leonard I knew. His wonderful phrase indicating that he felt he was in a place "where elephants were dancing" made it very clear just how it felt to be caught between one group of General Authorities who regarded his position as the historian of the Church as a calling and another who saw the Church Historian as a bureaucrat, an honorable occupation, an important job, but not a calling. The information about his service as historian to the Church was all there and so many stories not heretofore told that there was no question about whether Leonard's memoirs deserved to be pub-

lished by the University of Illinois Press; they deserved to be published right away.

Yet there was something missing. In my report to the press I recommended publication but suggested that the press ask Leonard to consider inserting into the story the account of the compelling spiritual experience he had while working on his dissertation, an experience—he had told me—which would have a profound effect on his work as a historian of his distinctive faith. Leonard agreed to do so.

When I saw him for the last time in mid-December, he thanked me for encouraging him to add an account of this episode to his story. He noted that it had been singled out as significant, first by Peggy Fletcher Stack and then other reviewers and he told me that it was often mentioned by persons who had written to him after reading the book. His gratitude means so much to me that I want to open the formal part of this memorial gathering by reading a portion of that account, shortened here and there but not changed in any way.

During the winter of 1949-50, . . . my mind was filled with the research I had done in the Church Archives during preceding summers. . . . The Apostle John wrote that to gain salvation a person must receive two baptisms—the baptism of water and the baptism of the spirit (John 3:3-5). My water baptism and confirmation had occurred when I was eight, but now, in a university library, I was unexpectedly absorbed into the universe of the Holy Spirit. (Mormons would say I was receiving the gift of the Holy Ghost.) A meaningful moment of insight and connectedness had come to me that helped me see that my research efforts were compatible with the divine restoration of the church. It was something like, but more intense than, the feelings that welled up in me when I listened to the finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony or was moved by Raphael's painting of the Madonna in the Vatican Museum at the end of World War II. In an electrifying moment, the lives and beliefs of nineteenth-century Mormons had a special meaning; they were inspiring—part of the eternal plan—and it was my pleasure to understand and write about their story. Whatever my talents and abilities—and I had never pretended that they were extraordinary—an invisible higher power had now given me a commission and the experience remained, and continues to remain with me. Regardless of frustrations and obstacles that came to me in the years that followed, I knew that God expected me to carry out a research program of his peoples' history and to make available that material to others. Whatever people might say about this mortal errand, I must persevere, and do so in an attitude of faithfulness. My experience was a holy, never-to-be-forgotten encounter—one that inspired me to live up to the promises held out for those who receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. (28-29)

This passage became the focal point, indeed the heart of his book. Of greater import, it was his calling, the very key to his work—and to his life.

The conversation in which he told me about that encounter personally is my most precious memory of this extraordinary man.

Thomas G. Alexander

[*Note:* These remarks at the memorial service have been expanded to include Tom's remarks at the funeral the next day.]

"The Lord . . . inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen; and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile" (2 Ne. 26:33). In this context, I remember also Martin Luther King's dream that we might live in a nation which would judge people "by the content of their character."

Harriet asked me to notify a number of people. I did so, and I also contacted Richard Etulain, president of the Western History Association, since Leonard had served as president of WHA. Richard, who is a scholar at the University of New Mexico and a committed Evangelical Protestant, wrote that he thought about the words of Agrippa, "almost thou persuadeth me . . ." (Acts 26:28) Then he added, "Those words work for me in thinking of the suasive power of Leonard's life." He said that "if the LDS Church sent Leonard around to present on his faith and the West, he'd turn us all into Mormons."

I talked with Judy Austin of the Idaho State Historical Society, an active Presbyterian, whom Leonard had befriended and whose wedding Leonard and Harriet attended. She told me fondly that Leonard had told her husband Don before they were married to take good care of her.

I recall that Bob Flanders, then a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, told me some years ago that he had first met Leonard at a historical convention. Leonard came up to him with his hand extended and said, "Hello, I am Leonard Arrington." Bob became a dear friend to many of us.

Elliot West of the University of Arkansas wrote: "Leonard Arrington was one of my true heroes. He was a fine historian, and beyond that he was a man of the highest intellectual integrity and enormous courage."

The loss of two friends and mentors within just over a year has caused both sadness and of reflection—first George Ellsworth in late December 1997, now Leonard. George offered me the model of a skillful caring teacher; Leonard helped me become a productive scholar and an active member of professional historical organizations. Both offered models of committed Latter-day Saints who found it unnecessary—indeed, perverse—to compromise either their religious or professional integrity.

The MHA had its origins in Leonard's extraordinary capacity to draw others into his circle. After Leonard joined the faculty at Utah State, he and

Grace, George and Maria Ellsworth, Gene and Beth Campbell, and Wendell and Pearl Rich formed a Church history study group. They read papers to one another and discussed the Latter-day Saint past.

In addition, Leonard sought out students at Utah State to work with him in researching and writing articles and books. As part of that association, Leonard and I published a series of articles on Utah's defense installations, and we wrote a history of the Utah State University Stake. We continued that association as I went on to Berkeley and after I joined the faculty of BYU in 1964.

At Brigham Young University Ernest Wilkinson required the faculty to attend the Utah Conference on Higher Education each September. These were exceedingly unproductive meetings designed by administrators to trumpet their inane ideas to faculty. Leonard, George, Gene, and Wendell arranged something more interesting for 1965. They invited a group of us to hold a Mormon history session in the library instead of going to the regular meetings. At that session we agreed to organize the Mormon History Association at the American Historical Association meeting in San Francisco in December 1965. Gene Campbell drafted a constitution, and I arranged a place for us to meet. Leonard contacted his large circle of historical friends, Latter-day Saints, Reorganized Latter Day Saints, Protestants, and others interested in the Mormon past. Dick Bushman and Jim Allen arranged a panel discussion for the program.

We met in the Monterey Room of the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on 28 December and set up the MHA. We elected Leonard as the first president. Until 1972 we met with other historical organizations; after that, we held annual meetings. We agreed at first to publish in *Dialogue*, *BYU Studies*, and other historical journals. Then in 1974, for the first time, we began to publish our own journal

I think that, without Leonard, we would either have had no Mormon History Association, or we would have organized an extremely parochial society made up exclusively of Latter-day Saints who had little interest to include those not of our faith in the work of writing about the history of our people. I think, more than anything else, it was Leonard's remarkable power to reach out to historians of all persuasions that made the MHA what it was and what it has become.

Leonard is a dear friend and mentor who offers those of us who are Latter-day Saints and historians a model of the sort Nephi suggested. All were alike unto him. He modeled gracious love, Christlike service, and professional integrity to all, regardless of persuasion or race. All of us will miss him.

I love Leonard Arrington, and I treasure and try to emulate the model he advanced which showed that a committed Latter-day Saint could also be

a fully engaged and productive scholar with professional integrity. I believe that this scripture fits Leonard: "And whoso is found a faithful, a just, and a wise steward shall enter into the joy of his Lord, and shall inherit eternal life" (D&C 51:19).

Davis Bitton

No one was more surprised than Leonard when President Nathan Eldon Tanner called him to be Church Historian. But I don't think he would have been entirely surprised to be called as an Assistant Church Historian. I know I wouldn't have been surprised. In fact, I had nominated him. For all I know, others may have done the same, but I have a copy of the letter I, as president of the Mormon History Association, sent to Church Historian Howard W. Hunter, listing Leonard's many qualities and urging that he seemed heaven-sent to produce great works of Church history and build bridges with other scholars, in the Church and out. For whatever reason, the decision was made as it was, and for the first time a true historian was called to be Church Historian.

What did bowl me over was the request that I serve as Assistant Church Historian. Leonard had been authorized to have one, but, always thinking and "pushing the envelope," he decided to try for two half-time appointments instead. Jim Allen could provide a connection with BYU, and I could do so for the University of Utah. With Leonard representing Utah State University, so to speak, all three major Utah institutions of higher learning were covered.

You may be interested in a little drama that occurred on 10 March 1973. Jim had been cleared, I think. Who could have any questions about Jim? But on this day I was to undergo a searching interview with Elder Alvin R. Dyer. After the interview, I had returned to Leonard's office in what is now the Church Administration Building—a spacious office that for many years had belonged to Joseph Fielding Smith. The telephone rang. Elder Dyer told Leonard I had passed muster. "I think we should pray," Leonard said with some emotion. Then and there, four of us—Leonard, Jim, Dean Jessee, and myself—went down on our knees, thanked God for the confidence placed in us, and dedicated ourselves to His service. Leonard truly did look upon his position as a sacred calling.

Incidentally, I learned something about human nature—or at least my nature. Up until then I had not been very enthusiastic about Alvin R. Dyer, regarding his historical and theological writings with rather serious reservations. Leonard pulled me aside and said, "Do you know what Elder Dyer said about you?" "No, what did he say?" "He said, 'That Davis Bitton is a wonderful fellow, isn't he?'" In a split second, the connections in my brain made a sudden shift. I suddenly realized that Elder Dyer was in fact an

excellent person. In fact, he was not only intelligent but obviously very perceptive. More seriously, we quickly learned to appreciate Elder Dyer's qualities. He was a good person to have on your side. "My job," he said, "is to put wheels under you." It was a great loss to us when he became incapacitated.

I was close to Leonard. I know everyone felt the same. But with my office next to his, I developed an especially close relationship. He and I talked virtually every day in a relationship of confidence and trust. When Jim Allen was there, we functioned as a presidency, Jim and I serving as counselors. Leonard and I worked together as collaborators on *The Mormon Experience* and later *Saints Without Halos* and *Mormons and Their Historians*. We continued to see each other often and regularly right down to his death.

Leonard didn't agree with everything people wrote about Mormon history. Like any committed Latter-day Saint, he was hurt and dismayed when some writers employed sarcasm and unfairly attacked the Church and its leaders—or its historians. He did not appreciate shoddy, irresponsible work. But the dominant tone in Leonard's interacting with individual historians was enthusiasm, support, and respect. He was incredibly generous in sharing his own files. He assumed the honesty and good will of other scholars, in the Church and out, and with only rare exceptions was proved right.

Everyone is surrounded by both positive and negative experiences. Which will be allowed to dominate our life and set the tone? Doom and gloom, discouragement and fear—or an irrepressible courage and confidence? One of the marks of a great leader, it seems to me, is the ability to project an optimistic spirit. "Courage, brethren, and on, on to victory!" said Joseph Smith. This same spirit is projected with never-failing good cheer by President Gordon B. Hinckley. Leonard Arrington did the same. Never, under his leadership, would the History Division become a cabal of murmurers and fault-finders. This was just not his way. Describing the period during which the History Division was being reduced and curtailed, Leonard writes in his published autobiography that "sunshine broke through from time to time." I give him more credit than that. Sunshine broke through every day in the person of Leonard Arrington. "Neither cynical nor discouraged," he wrote to his children, "I am, I hope, a valiant and thoughtful member of the Lord's Church." Leonard honored his priesthood and was true to his covenants.

In the death of Leonard Arrington, we have lost a great soul, a giant of a historian, a genial and optimistic intellectual who also possessed faith and demonstrated commitment. We may never see his like again. But those of us who were on his team—and I include all those who read his works with

appreciation and agree with his approach—can continue in our own way to perpetuate his legacy.

I conclude with some words written by Jedediah Grant about Brigham Young and ask you to think about Leonard Arrington:

I can't undertake to explain Brigham Young to your Atlantic citizens, or expect you to put him at his value. Your great men Eastward are to me like your ivory and pearl handled table knives, balance handles, more shiny than the inside of my watch case; but, with only edge enough to slice bread and cheese or help spoon victuals, and all alike by the dozen one with another. Brigham is the article that sells out West with us—between a Roman cutlass and a beef butcher knife, the thing to cut up a deer or cut down an enemy, and that will save your life or carve your dinner every bit as well. . . . You, that judge men by the handle and sheath, how can I make you know a good Blade?

For his family, for his profession, for his Church, for those of us who were his friends, Leonard Arrington was a good blade.

Chase Peterson

Leonard did not choose the controversial public role that was thrust upon him.

Most who find themselves engaged in controversy become comfortably invisible.

A few engage controversy but, as Pogo said, become themselves indistinguishable from opposing forces, or somehow find their clarity and purpose altered by the tensions of the controversy—blander or more strident. They no longer are the person they were before the controversy.

A very rare few, Leonard a leader among that cadre in this society, also Lowell Bennion, are the same mind and spirit during the controversy as they were before. That is one mark of a great man and a great example for those who might settle for less—invisible, bland, or strident.

Eugene England

I first met Leonard when we happened to sit by each other on a plane in the spring of 1965. I told him of the plans of a group of us at Stanford, including historian G. Wesley Johnson, to found *Dialogue*, the first modern independent journal of Mormon thought, and asked him to join Lowell Bennion as one of the two advisory editors. He accepted. Later that year, he informed us of plans to form the Mormon History Association, and we agreed it would help both endeavors if the MHA didn't form a journal of Mormon history right away and *Dialogue* made a special effort to publish historical scholarship. Leonard himself began that tradition with his important survey of "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century"

as our lead article in the first issue and then with the large section on Mormon history in the third issue, which Leonard guest-edited. It included ground-breaking essays by Davis Bitton and James Allen, as well as important work by Richard Bushman, Robert Bruce Flanders, Thomas Alexander, and Klaus Hansen.

It was not until I read Leonard's *Adventures of a Church Historian* last summer, that I learned, to my great sorrow, that Leonard paid a serious price for his connection with *Dialogue*. I regret that very much, and regret more the reason for it: the tendency of many, in the past thirty years, including even some scholars and intellectuals, to assign guilt by association—to judge people and their work not by intrinsic worth but by who they associate with and where they publish or speak. Leonard never did that, and he never catered to those who did or blamed anyone. He didn't mention his lost opportunity to me, and he continued to publish in *Dialogue* throughout his tenure as Church Historian, including his important essay on "Women in Mormon History," which encouraged a whole generation of LDS women to write about their foremothers and themselves.

That was only one example of his unique reaching out to embrace the great range of Mormon experience in his mentoring and in his leadership of the MHA, which he made certain included both conservative and liberal scholars, RLDS scholars, non-Mormon scholars, and nonscholars: amateur historians of a every persuasion and approach.

When I entered Leonard's Camelot at the Church Office Building in July 1975, the atmosphere did not surprise me, coming from working at Stanford and then St. Olaf. It was only later that I realized it had been a miracle. There was a heady, joyful, free, exciting spirit that I have come to think of as liberal Mormonism at its best. There was open expression of devout faith and commitment, hard work in the sincere hope of contributing to the kingdom, passionate discussion about and practice in writing about our faith and its history and leaders with both integrity and love, and a willingness to look critically at our culture and ourselves in the hope of improvement, not to either justify or to tear down.

One meaning of liberal is generous, and Camelot was a generous place. I was welcomed as a colleague by Leonard, Jim, and Davis, even allowed to make substantive as well as editorial suggestions for their books; I was trusted with newly cataloged materials by Brigham Young that few others had looked at and allowed to use them for my writing even before Leonard did in his *American Moses*. Jill Mulvay Derr, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Ron Walker, Glen Leonard, and many others taught me how to write with clearly expressed devotion to my subject and my people as well

as with careful, honest, and complete scholarship—and Ron Esplin even tried to teach me to write with tact.

Leonard, without ever mentioning his own troubles as clouds gathered over Camelot, constantly conveyed to me his conviction that increased historical knowledge would not hurt but would rather increase faith. That certainly proved true as I examined the Brigham Young materials and emerged with many of my negative stereotypes of him destroyed and with increased conviction that he was indeed human but a truly great man and a true prophet of God. My daughter Jody, who also worked there, gained new confidence in her beginning explorations of Church history as she saw Leonard deal in a press conference with the newly discovered Spaulding manuscript materials. He expressed complete assurance that there was nothing to fear from new manuscripts and open exploration of the evidence. As we have become friends with Leonard's own children, James and Carl and Susan, we have seen how they have developed the same qualities of honesty and courage.

As I began reading Leonard's autobiography last summer, I wondered if there would be any bitterness. It seems to me no modern Mormon intellectual has been raised up so high—appointed Church Historian with a mandate from the First Presidency to give that office professional skill and integrity—and then in some ways treated so badly by some. Yet there is no bitterness or self-pity. He tells his story with clarity and self-criticism and optimism, with a focus on his faith in the gospel and Church and in his scholarly vocation and the future of Mormonism and its historians.

Later that summer I heard him, in his "Pillars of My Faith" address at Sunstone, tell, the first time I think to the scholarly community, not only of the great mystical experience at graduate school that connected him with his Mormon ancestors and their history (and which he recounts for the first time in his book) but also of the early spiritual experiences that assured him that the Church was true and that his vocation—his calling in life—was to write honestly and fully about the Church. He was called by God, I believe, to fulfill a unique mission in the intellectual and spiritual history of the Church, just as were David O. McKay and Spencer W. Kimball, under whom he did his major work.

I trust that in the coming century, like his colleague and friend Lowell Bennion, he will be read more and more and that generations of historians, LDS scholars of all kinds, and lay members who love the life of the mind, will rise up and call his name blessed.

Fred Buchanan

When I returned to Utah in 1970 after seven years in Ohio seeking

a Ph.D. in education, I seemed to be slipping in the direction of making an “either/or” decision about my relationship to the Church. During a visit to Logan, I sought out Leonard Arrington. Between general conference sessions, we had a long talk about my doubts and my future relationship to the Church. It was at that time that Leonard calmed some of my fears by suggesting that there was more than one way to be a Mormon. He suggested that in reality there was considerable variety of perspectives within the fold; and in his homespun way, he illustrated the diversity among the Mormons by saying that there were some who wore temple garments all the time; some who wore them on weekends; some only during the day, and some on special occasions only. With the introduction of two-piece garments, I suppose the kinds of Mormons would now be even more diverse.

Every time I had occasion to talk with Leonard about some of my research projects I came away deeply enriched by his questions and his insights. I was always amazed at how he could turn what appeared to be an insurmountable difficulty into an opportunity for more research. Leonard encouraged me to look into the development of public education in nineteenth-century Utah. When I began having serious doubts about the reality of the Mormon commitment to education in the pioneer era, he helped me deepen my understanding by simply suggesting the hypothesis that, while the commitment was in some places quite profound, in other areas it was abysmal. In reality, as my research ultimately indicated, there were pockets of excellence and pockets of ignorance all over Utah. During our MHA visit to Scotland in 1987, he delighted in meeting the ordinary people in my home town as much as he did in conversing with His Grace, the Duke of Argyle, at Inverary Castle. Leonard put on no airs and was gracious to all.

My last conversation with Leonard was two Sundays ago when I went to see if he wanted a ride to the Bennion fireside group. He didn't feel up to it, so I said I'd give the group his regards. He said, “No, don't give them my regards. Give them my love.” So it was in everything he did—he gave us his love in his history, his humor, his insights, and his fervent testimony. His love helped so many avoid the “either/or” fallacy. Thanks, Leonard.

D. Michael Quinn

My life was blessed by Leonard in multiple ways; everything that Tom Alexander and Dean May and so many others have said is certainly true in my own life. Almost exactly twenty-seven years ago, I was present at the creation. It was an extraordinary thing to be one of those early members of Leonard Arrington's staff as Church Historian. At that point, I had recently

returned from a three-year stint in the military. I had met Leonard when I was doing research for Davis Bitton, of the University of Utah, in the Church Archives. Richard Bennett was Leonard's research assistant and through him I met Leonard. When my assistantship with Davis ended, I became Leonard's research assistant and was stunned when he asked me to join the staff when he was appointed as Church Historian. I had the shortest tenure of anyone on the staff. I was there only eighteen months; and for all but about the last two months of that period, I was half-time.

I owe everything I have ever achieved professionally to Leonard. When I met Leonard, I had no plans of ever publishing—ever. I had always looked at Mormon history as a hobby; and even though I had, in the army, changed that hobby to be a professional, that was only so I could do better as a Mormon historian. I really had not anticipated being a publishing Mormon historian. Leonard changed that.

Leonard is the one who got me into Yale when Yale turned me down as a Ph.D. candidate. Leonard wrote a letter of inquiry and got a phone call from the dean of the graduate school at Yale on a Saturday. They spoke for two hours and the final result was that Yale offered me a half-tuition fellowship. He taught me how to publish. He taught me how to accept redlinings. He taught me what it meant to be a mentor. Compared to Leonard I was a poor mentor to my students, but I did my best to bring to my students the kind of encouragement that I had received from Leonard. He was without parallel—a contributing scholar in his own right yet willing, even eager, to give hours of his own time to mentor others.

In the twentieth century, the two greatest Mormon historians are, without question, B. H. Roberts and Leonard Arrington. B. H. Roberts dominated the first four decades, primarily through his writings and speeches; but he was austere. He did not really fill the role of mentor. Leonard was an extraordinarily prolific writer, but he mentored hundreds of academics and thousands who were just interested in Mormon history or who became interested in Mormon history through him.

Robert Frost said: "As dawn goes down to day, so nothing gold can stay." I have, with thousands of others, been blessed in my own life and grateful for the influence in Mormon history of Leonard J. Arrington, who shared the gold of his heart with so many.

James B. Allen

What an appropriate gathering this is—a kind of "historian's wake," as one person referred to it earlier this evening. It is especially fitting because, in at least one way, it is just the kind of get-together Leonard would love. We know, of course, that the last thing he would want would be to sit

in a meeting where he heard nothing but praises of himself. But to gather with friends and colleagues, to hear exchanges of stories and ideas, to feel the mutual interest in and love for Mormon history, and to learn new things about the people and topic at hand—this was the kind of occasion Leonard reveled in. So if you are looking in on us, Leonard, we think you will approve of our reminding and informing each other of some of the things we have each appreciated most.

No one can say that Leonard Arrington did not enjoy life. He enjoyed it to the fullest; and we saw this, in part, in his marvelous sense of humor. How he loved, in so many of his talks, to emphasize the role of humor in Mormon history, especially the humor of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young! And when something seemed not to be working out just right, how often did those of us who worked closely with him hear him jocularly quote Brigham Young: “Don’t fret yer gizzard,” he would say, assuring us that things would turn out all right.

Leonard enjoyed life because he enjoyed so many things that were part of life. He loved good parties—including parties with his coworkers, where he could sometimes entertain them by singing in Italian. He also enjoyed himself whenever he could find someone from Italy and surprise that person by striking up a conversation in Italian. I well remember a night in the early 1970s when several of us from the Historical Department were in Sharon, Vermont. There in this New England town we found ourselves in a French restaurant operated by an Italian chef. What a surprised look spread over the chef’s face when Leonard started talking to him in Italian, and telling him who we were. And he roared with laughter when the chef came back with a surprise of his own. “Oh, I love the Mormons,” he said. “Angelino Moroni is an Italian!”

There were also, it seems, a thousand other things that Leonard loved as part of life: reading the newspaper, a great meal, pecan pie, good books, entertaining visitors in his home and collecting their signatures and comments in a special book, telling stories, meeting new people, a good joke, and a variety of little things that were especially enjoyable to him, such as his Mickey Mouse watch and licorice-flavored milk shakes.

All this and more helped make Leonard the loveable, likeable, remarkable personality that we all enjoyed and admired so much. But I want to mention five other aspects of his life that endeared him to all who knew him and that, in my case, helped cement a lasting friendship.

First, I think of Leonard as the consummate Mormon scholar—with the emphasis on both “Mormon” and “scholar.” It was through his love of Mormon history that he left a permanent and matchless impact on the Church he loved. There was no better example than he of someone who could write history that was accurate and honest but also in a way that

would never demean the faith. His record is well known: well over two hundred books and articles on Mormon history alone, plus many more on other aspects of U.S. and Western American history. But wherever he went, whether in professional circles or in Church gatherings, he assured everyone that in all his work in the archives he never found anything that gave him cause to doubt his faith. To me, his example was one of the essential formative influences of my career.

Second, I remember Leonard as a man who showed a sincere interest in others. How vividly I recall, as do many of you, the times we used to meet in informal “rump” sessions at various historical conventions where Leonard would get all of us around in a circle and say, “Now, let’s find out what everyone is doing.” Each one there then had to tell what he/she was doing, and we all knew that this meant, specifically, what we were doing in Mormon history. But no matter how much or how little it seemed that any of us had to say, Leonard was interested. He commented, complimented, critiqued, and encouraged, all in the same breath. More than that, Leonard had the uncanny facility of knowing “who was out there,” or finding out “who was out there,” communicating with them, encouraging them, and assuring them that they had an important contribution to make. How much it meant to me after my graduation from Utah State when he continued to watch what I was doing, show an interest in it, and encourage me to publish. And when I accepted a job at BYU, here came a personal letter from Leonard, congratulating me, welcoming me back to Utah, and inviting me to join the Utah Academy.

The third memory is closely related: Leonard, the historical entrepreneur and facilitator. He had no personal fear of anyone else getting into the field or “stealing” his topics; he knew that there was so much to be done and his main goal was to get as many people as possible writing as much Mormon history as possible to get it done. So he gathered around him the best people he could find, provided opportunities for them in every way he knew how, and did everything he could to see that their works were critiqued, improved, and ultimately published. Leonard even, at times, shared research files with budding young scholars who, he felt, would produce a worthy essay on some topic he was interested in. The list of publications by those who, in some way, were helped along by his work would number into the thousands. I have no way of knowing for sure, but I suspect that of the more than 7,000 Mormon history books, articles, theses, and dissertations that have appeared since 1972 (the year Leonard became Church Historian) at least 25 percent bear, in some way, the direct or indirect stamp of Leonard Arrington—produced by himself, his staff, his students, his students’ students, people whom he directly helped and encouraged, people who were influenced by “all of the

above,” and authors who referred to or cited the works of “all of the above.”

One of the best examples of his entrepreneurship was the founding of the Mormon History Association, which Leonard personally spearheaded and which has become one of the chief means for getting Mormon scholars together, encouraging and publicizing new research, and disseminating, through its journal, the best in Mormon history scholarship. I well remember that September 1965 “rump” session during the meetings of the Utah Academy when Leonard gathered a few Mormon scholars together, made the proposal, and laid plans for the organizational meeting that came in December. And I have always felt especially grateful to Leonard for the fact that, as an additional feature of that September meeting, he invited me to present a preliminary version of a paper that I later published, “The Significance of Joseph Smith’s ‘First Vision’ in Mormon Thought.” The encouragement and suggestions I received there were most helpful.

Fourth, I also remember Leonard as a long-time friend and colleague. During my last term at Utah State, in 1954, I took a class in historical research and writing from George Ellsworth. Sitting in on that class was Leonard Arrington, a member of the economics faculty, who was completing his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina and who wanted to learn more about the methods of the historian. What a delight it was to get to know him there, to recognize his already great talent and to observe firsthand his continuing quest for new approaches and new ideas. And then there was the summer of 1956, when Leonard and George Ellsworth both had summer teaching positions at BYU and I was working on my master’s degree. The three of us commuted each weekend in my car between Logan and Provo. As you can imagine, I learned about as much during those hours on the road as I did in most of my classes at BYU. Leonard and I kept in touch during the next several years, we frequently met with others to discuss various issues relating to Mormon history, and in 1972 he asked me to be one of his Assistant Church Historians. I could not have been more overwhelmed.

And lastly, I remember Leonard not just as a scholarly giant but also as a spiritual giant. I knew him in the “old days,” when there were still Seventies quorums in the stakes, and Leonard was one of the presidents of his quorum. His concern for the work of the Seventies, and for his quorum members, was exemplary. I remember what a dynamic spiritual experience it was for me on March 10, 1972, the day Davis Bitton and I were each interviewed by Elder Alvin R. Dyer and called to be Assistant Church Historians. After the interviews, we met in Leonard’s office and there Leonard, Davis, Dean Jessee, and myself knelt as Leonard offered an ardent prayer

of thanksgiving and sought guidance for the future. What a powerful and correct way for a group of professional historians to begin an assignment—and it was Leonard who led out, as always.

On one occasion when Grace was ill, Leonard called on Davis and me to help him administer to her. On another occasion he talked with us about giving a father's blessings to his children. And who among his staff will ever forget a glorious morning when we all hiked to the top of Ensign Peak and there, overlooking the Salt Lake Valley, Leonard delivered a powerful address that admonished us to be faithful both as scholars and as Latter-day Saints? These were all great spiritual experiences for me, and only emphasize the truly rich, well-rounded life that Leonard Arrington lived.

I knew Leonard Arrington well. I honored him, loved him, and learned from him, not just from what he said but from what he did. He was my friend, and I will always cherish his memory.

Emma Lou Thayne

I look out on this sea of scholars, people who knew Leonard in ways that I never did. When he asked me to be part of a Redd Lecture series talking about poetry, I said, "Leonard, I'm not a scholar. I don't live in a footnote world." He said, "It's all right, Emma Lou. We want you to talk off the top of your head." I suppose that's the kind of granting of privilege he bestowed on so many of us who were not really in his world.

It's been said that a real friend frees us to be our wildest selves. I think of three things Leonard maintained: (1) He was forever curious. (2) He had a great ability to live in the present. He may have been looking back, but no day was dull because it was his day. (3) He lived in life—not in theories, not in abstractions.

ON THE DEATH OF A GENTLE GIANT: FOR LEONARD

Your wondering is over.

Today your history is embellished by the ultimate resource.

A radiance has taken you.

Now part of the council of all beings

You are exuberant as the earth in the cosmos

Alive, astonishing, beyond maps

And places to fall.

Nothing is now too late

Or to be demolished.

No disease, no invaders foreign and calloused by presumption

Can have their way.

Your awakening is unbounded
Pure surprise.
What you propounded and believed in—
The Light—Over, around, suffuses your coming
As your passing wrenches us all
Through the flailings of our endangered species
To where sleep and beyond
Beckon from birth
And feather the heaviest death
With luminous fingers
To draw us
Weeping with the lightness of being
Home.

May flights of angels see thee to thy rest, dear friend.

THE VOICES OF MEMORY

[*Editor's note:* The executive committee of the *Journal of Mormon History* felt that an appropriate tribute to Leonard J. Arrington, as founder of the Mormon History Association, would be to open the pages of the *Journal* to those who wished to make a statement about him. Matching his own spirit, we made the invitation as inclusive as possible through telephone calls, e-mail lists, and word of mouth, in each case encouraging those contacted to pass the invitation on. Although the deadline was a tight one, tributes flooded in. A few are expansions of comments made by colleagues at one of the two funeral services or excerpts of letters of condolence to Harriet Horne Arrington and used by permission. Except for the statement of the MHA president and past president, Jill Mulvay Derr and Armand L. Mauss, and remarks made at the funeral, the statements are presented roughly in the order in which they were received.]

A song of lamentation is best sung by many. From within that ensemble arises the sound of mourning that is no longer lonely—rich, healing, harmonies that dare to accompany the harsh discordance of the world. —Molly Fumia, *Safe Passage* (Berkeley, CA: Conari Press, 1992), 251.

Jill Mulvay Derr
Mormon History Association
President, 1998-99

With profound respect, love, and sorrow, we mark the passing of Leonard J. Arrington—an extraordinary historian, a magnificent peer and mentor, and a greatly esteemed and beloved human being. Leonard was a founder of Mormon History Association, indeed, the moving force behind its 1965 founding and subsequent flowering. MHA's first president, he continued to provide leadership to the expanding organization through his own prodigious scholarship and enthusiastic encouragement of others' scholarship. He untiringly extended his personal support and shared his ideas in innumerable discussions and conversations; sent countless congratulatory letters celebrating the achievements of scholars small and great, young and old, Mormon and non-Mormon; and consistently recognized exceptional scholarship with generous grants and awards. His energetic participation and his ebullient presence have been integral parts of the association's annual meetings for some thirty-three years.

Dedicated to the highest standards of scholarship and unwavering in his love of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ, Leonard felt a sacred sense of mission about being a Mormon historian. And he had a gift for cultivating in others that same sense of mission. When I first received a research fellowship from the His-

tory Division in September 1973, I joined a remarkable fellowship, a union of friends and equals forged by Leonard himself. It was a United Order, really, where differences in expertise and experience were secondary to unified purpose. Leonard, like the prophet whose life he so capably chronicled, trusted his associates to pioneer new territory, such as Mormon women's history. He had more faith in me than I had in myself, and drew from me what I did not know I had to give. His was an expansive and expanding soul. Always questioning, seeking, listening, learning, he was quick to admit what he did not know. And he believed every soul was capable of such enlargement. He knelt in prayer with his staff, shared information, ideas, and laughs, and celebrated every article, book, and birthday. After I left the History Division, he continued to send me thoughtful letters and autographed books. Forever reaching out, he built not only a team, but a community.

Author, professor, Church Historian, Leonard was the magnetic center of a community of scholars that extended far beyond the History Division and Mormon History Association. He drew people to him and to one another, engaging and encouraging them in scholarly research and publication which has flourished beyond the Great Basin in many nations. With an inexhaustible entrepreneurial spirit and infinite good humor and good will, he nurtured and disseminated Mor-

mon history in professional conferences and local wards, among intellectual elites and common folks alike. The love and respect he showed a broad diversity of people won him widespread admiration, trust, and love.

Leonard J. Arrington will be missed in ways as varied, far-reaching, and enduring as were his contributions.

Armand L. Mauss
MHA President, 1997-98

It has often been said that an institution is but the lengthened shadow of one great person. Leonard's "shadow" extended in many directions. His own scholarly accomplishments, but particularly his term as Church Historian (politically foreshortened though it was) exemplified and legitimized, as never before, the integration of the spiritual and the intellectual dimensions of historical scholarship. This development itself was a new "institution" in LDS culture, one that will endure to Leonard's eternal glory. His mortal legacy, meanwhile, is permanently institutionalized in the Mormon History Association, which he founded.

Not only historians and their craft can look to Leonard as an intellectual ancestor. In a very real and direct way, he and his work offered a point of reference and a critical nuclear mass which attracted responsible LDS scholarship from *all* of the social sciences. Seeing what Leonard and his immediate associates could do in history inspired and

motivated those of us in other scholarly fields to try to do the same. These derivative efforts have yielded additional institutions like *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*, and perhaps even the earlier *BYU Studies*, all of which Leonard not only inspired but always fostered and encouraged. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a corner of contemporary LDS scholarship that is not, in some way, touched by his shadow.

On a more personal note, I wish to acknowledge with love and appreciation the influence which Leonard had on my own career. I first met him at the founding 1965 meeting of MHA in San Francisco and again the next year when MHA met at Reed College in Oregon. I was still a graduate student at the time, one who had recently switched from history to sociology. Rather than considering me a "turncoat," Leonard encouraged me to apply the tools of my new discipline to historical studies, an enterprise that I was obliged by career imperatives to postpone for more than a decade. When I finally "returned" to Mormon history, it was at first in contemporary history and, again, with Leonard's encouragement. He not only urged me to participate more actively in MHA, but he gave my work a visible boost with an invitation to give a Redd Center lecture in 1982. That lecture was the embryo of (and had the same title as) my eventual book, *The Angel and the Beehive*. Many other scholars enjoyed Leonard's sponsorship and company on a much

more intense and frequent basis than I did, since I did not live in Utah; but my debt to him will always be as great as theirs. Against that background, I find somewhat ironic but personally gratifying the realization that as Leonard “inducted” me into Mormon history at that first MHA meeting, he lived long enough to be present for my presidential address at his last MHA meeting. Oh, how I shall miss him!

Bill Mulder, Salt Lake City

[*Note:* These remarks, slightly expanded, were first delivered at the funeral service in Salt Lake City.]

As a wayward Saint, I appreciate the invitation to add a few words in remembrance of Leonard. Our long association goes back, way before Camelot, to a time we were a pair of unknowns, already in our early thirties, with family responsibilities, who had survived the Great Depression and the rude interruption of our graduate studies by World War II (Leonard serving in North Africa and I, courtesy of the Navy, on Okinawa). We had independently discovered the rich field of Mormon history and, after we became acquainted, realized that we had a common purpose to tell the story well—Mormon economic history in Leonard’s case and Mormon immigration history in mine. We were happy in each other’s company whenever we met or corresponded, a fraternity of two aiding and abetting each other as we pursued our studies.

By the fall of 1950, Leonard was back in Logan teaching economics, Ph.D. in hand, after a year’s leave from Utah State Agricultural College. I was at the University of Utah on the bottom rung of the academic ladder as an instructor in the English Department and assistant editor of the *Western Humanities Review*. Thereby hangs the tale I have less than three minutes to tell.

In September I received a phone call from Leonard. He had read a notice in the local paper that I would be in Logan to give a lecture (as I recall, it was at the public library on “The Mormons in Fact and Fiction”). In a typical gesture, he invited me to stay overnight at home with the family. It came to pass, as the Book of Mormon would say, and I enjoyed Grace’s Southern cooking and a thimbleful of vintage Scuppernong grape taken down from a high shelf in the kitchen that little James couldn’t reach. After dinner, as Leonard’s memoir records it, he “trotted out” one of his essays, one on the building of a dam at Deseret, in Millard County, a dramatic story, as it turned out, of community effort despite a series of disasters. With far more eagerness than I was used to from freshman English students, Leonard asked me to tell him frankly whether he could write.

I had my answer for him at breakfast next morning: It was indeed well done and I accepted it provisionally for publication. I remember asking him at one point, “How would Wallace Stegner have said that?” With a

new introduction and conclusion and a few literary allusions in strategic places, we published "Taming the Turbulent Sevier," in the August 1951 *Western Humanities Review*.

And that's how I came to midwife Leonard's first scholarly publication. We published other articles, a collaboration of historian and editor, at decent intervals in subsequent issues during the 1950s: one on "Zion's Board of Trade, a Third United Order," one on the Law of Consecration and Stewardship in early Mormon history, and one on the economic role of Mormon women, "quite possibly," Leonard thought, "the earliest attempt to introduce Mormon women into the scholarly study of Mormon history." All this, mind you, before *BYU Studies* or *Sunstone* or *Dialogue* or a Mormon History Association were even a gleam in the eye.

There's no time to tell you about other happenings in what, looking back, seems a golden decade in our relationship: the Mormon Seminar, irreverently dubbed the Swearing Elders, which Sterling McMurrin and I started to encourage serious discussion of Mormon issues and which Leonard said forced him to find the thematic thread in all his research when he was asked to address us; the summer of 1956 when Leonard, George Ellsworth, and I all taught at BYU and inhabited a suite in the then-new Heritage Halls, where the off-hours crackled with lively discourse as we discussed our works in progress. President Ernest

Wilkinson had the three of us to dinner one night, when he told us the story of how he won the lawsuit for the Ute Tribe against the U.S. government. Wilkinson that night was a perfect if garrulous host, not the curmudgeon of popular infamy.

Early in 1957 I gave the Reynolds Lecture on "The Mormons in American History," a title echoed years later in a course Leonard taught at BYU. By July I was off to India with my family on a Fulbright Award and Leonard with his family went off to Italy on a Fulbright the year following, but meanwhile our major works in progress had been completed and were at the publishers: *My Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* was issued by the University of Minnesota Press in 1957; Harvard University Press brought out Leonard's *Great Basin Kingdom*, destined to become a classic, in 1958; and in the same year, Alfred Knopf published *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers*, which I coedited with Russ Mortensen, then director of the Utah Historical Society.

Leonard went on, as we all know, an insider unafraid to call a spade a spade, in his case a fact-finding spade that has excavated the ore of regional history in ever-widening topical circles like the receding terraces at Kennecott's open-pit copper mine.

I hope these few particulars about beginnings have told you something you may not have known

before or known so intimately. In all my years, I have never encountered a more affable, stable, generous, and accommodating colleague.

The writer Milan Kundera has said that "the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." Thank heaven for history and historians. Although at the funeral, President Hinckley wondered what historians would have to write about in the hereafter, Leonard without doubt, given the roll call of Western historians who have died in this decade (Richard Poll, Hal Schindler, Wallace Stegner, Roald Campbell, George Ellsworth, and Delmont Oswald come to mind), is busy organizing a heavenly branch of the MHA.

F. Ross Peterson
From Funeral Remarks
Logan, Utah

I was thinking Monday night [at the memorial service] how many times I've been to a celebration for Leonard. Leonard loved them more than anyone. We've had a lot of fun in his name, and if you look at the picture on the front of program, you, too, will know that he's having a lot of fun. I'd like to welcome Leonard home—home to Utah State and home to Cache Valley, where he raised his family.

Leonard lived a very full life, one that touched many lives. It is amazing to have heard the variety of testimonials I've heard in the last seventy-two hours.

Leonard's legacy can be divided into four categories: teacher, husband, father, and friend. People used to make fun of us when we were together, joking, "Can any good come out of Idaho?" Well, if it weren't for the solemnity of the occasion, we'd sing "And Here We Have Idaho." I remember he once told me about going to the University of Idaho. "That's a long way from Magic Valley to Moscow, Idaho," he said. "It's almost the ends of the earth." Leonard's dad said, "It's not the end of the earth, but you can sure as hell see it from there."

From Moscow to North Carolina to Italy, Leonard developed a passion for education, teaching, learning—and especially people: language, opera, history, and travel. All of these passions were awakened during these years. As part of what Tom Brocaw calls "the greatest generation," Leonard, George Ellsworth, Brig Madsen, Merle Wells, Ev Cooley, Sterling McMurrin, Gene Campbell, Stewart Udall—many people he knew experienced a refiner's fire. They saw our world at its worst, and they saw human beings at their best. They came out of it with a tremendous desire to know, experience, and learn truth. Cicero's words, written centuries before, rang in their ears: "The first law of the historian is that he shall never utter an untruth. The second is that he shall suppress nothing that is true."

We witness today, with those

names I mentioned, the passing of a historic and a human era. Leonard's methodology as a teacher can be summed up by the scripture that Tom Alexander reminded me of yesterday: "He inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness; and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen; and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile" (2 Ne. 26:33). Above all, Leonard Arrington was inclusive. He mentored and nurtured, advised and encouraged, rarely lectured, rarely cajoled, and never embarrassed. Nearly twenty years ago, two young women, housewives, wives of professors, came to him to ask about a biography of Emma Smith. He didn't tell them to go get another degree. He didn't tell them to go study under anyone in particular. He didn't say, "It's going to be too controversial." He didn't say, "I always wanted to write that biography." He just told them to do it. Then he nurtured and mentored and made resources available. I remember his address at Utah State's centennial celebration, where of all the graduates he picked to talk about, among the four or five was Mignon Richmond Barker, the first African-American graduate of Utah State, a woman from Salt Lake City. He was and is inclusive. He never worked alone.

Leonard was blessed with two unbelievable women. Grace was amazing as a mother and a wife during

those early years as Leonard, George, Gene, and Wendell Rich and the others began to put together the ideas that eventually emerged as books, journals, and organizations that are still with us. While they literally carved a section of the world into the Western History Association and the Mormon History Association, their wives were so supportive. And after Grace's passing, Harriet played such an active role in Leonard's continuing saga of administering, nurturing—and I don't mean just typing. She was there in a lot of other ways that helped him continue to fulfill his dream of writing about people. He had two great partners who shared his passion for people. They're very much a part of this legacy.

I'm not going to say too much about the children because I love 'em too much; and if I talk about them I'll start to cry. You're going to hear from the children and stepchildren. They reflect the best of the beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount: "By their fruits, ye shall know them."

Let me talk about Leonard as a friend. Leonard never liked dissension, antagonism, fear, or prejudice. He was a man virtually without guile. Oh, there are times when I think he might have liked to exact a little revenge, but he was what he preached. When he asked me to speak, he asked me to repeat something that I wrote last fall. Many years ago, Stephen King wrote a

novel entitled *Rita Hayworth and the Shawshank Redemption*. It describes how a wrongfully convicted man survives the vicious brutality of a state prison and maintains a hope for humanity and civility. In one graphically memorable scene, the character, whose talents elevated him first to librarian and then to accountant for a corrupt warden, sacrifices all for the briefest moment of culture and civility. After six years of writing a weekly letter to the state library board, he finally got \$200 to buy some used books and a box of records. Among them was *The Marriage of Figaro*; and overcome by the memory of things that once were, he locked himself in the warden's office, placed the record on the turntable, turned on the prisonwide public address system, put the microphone near the record-player, and flipped the switch. Suddenly the entire prison was filled with the beautiful sounds of the opera, and everyone in the prison stopped, spellbound, to listen. "Those voices soared higher and further than anybody in that great place dared to dream of. It was like some beautiful bird plopped into our drab little cage and made those walls dissolve away. For the briefest of moments, every last man at Shawshank was free." Well, the warden and guards broke into the office and punished the offending but gratified inmate. That fictional character described what Martin Luther King described in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail" as "the inescapable network of

mutuality. We're tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly." And that was Leonard Arrington's life. That was his mission as a teacher.

As a friend who knew him as a teacher, who watched him as a husband and as a father, I also know that he believed firmly in the mission of Jesus Christ and understood His divinity. His numerous studies of people's lives only intensified his own relationship with the Lord and Savior. For me, Leonard's legacy can be summed up with this question: "Have you ever really had a teacher? One who saw you as a raw but precious thing, a jewel that with wisdom could be polished to a proud shine? If you are lucky enough to find your way to such a teacher, you will always find your way back. Sometimes it may only be in your head, but he will always be with those he taught" (Mitch Albom, *Tuesdays with Morrie* [New York: Doubleday, 1997], 192).

Reed Bullen

Former president of University Stake, Logan, Utah

From funeral remarks, Logan

Leonard was in the presidency of the first student stake at Utah State, which was the first student stake outside Brigham Young University. He loved the work. He loved the Lord. We used to meet at 6:30 in the morning once a week. I caught the value of that man in the first few meetings. He could keep notes without writ-

ing. Quite soon he was referred to on every subject that came up in our meetings, and he would give us a summary along with eight or ten sides of any issue. He'd tell you the good parts. He'd tell you the bad parts. Then he'd tell you someone who would vouch for the truthfulness and effectiveness of it.

Charles S. Peterson
St. George, Utah

One fall day in 1962 I entered the world of western history. As the entire history faculty at the College of Eastern Utah in Price and a beginning Ph.D. candidate at the University of Utah, I was one lonesome cowboy as I stood in a long registration line for the Western History Association's annual meeting at the Hotel Utah. There was Leonard Arrington, providentially placed immediately in front of me. We talked of my 1958 thesis defense at BYU, which he had attended, and of my plans not to uproot our family to get a Ph.D. As the line moved on, Leonard spoke of seeing his Mormon interests in a regional context and of his growing connection with WHA. I had read his *Great Basin Kingdom* and knew him to be a sentimentalist in whom strains of sweet nostalgia flowed. In him, native loyalty gentled ambition, humanized professionalism, and led to an unwavering interest in the work of others.

I didn't know it then, but he was well on his way toward integrating Mormon history into the monumental changes then taking place in the

organization of historical studies. The immediate postwar years had been a time of explosive growth and adjustments, some of them painful. The GI Bill brought a landslide of students. Maturing regional universities quickly hired the first postwar crop of history Ph.D.s. American history broke from the limitations imposed on the national perspective by the frontier thesis. Simultaneously, Mormon country regionalists from a variety of related fields brought gifts to bear on history matched by few historically trained scholars. Included were Bernard DeVoto, Dale Morgan, Fawn Brodie, Juanita Brooks, William Mulder, Thomas O'Dea, Donald Meinig, Sterling McMurrin, and Leonard Arrington.

A jubilant warrior, Arrington had embarked on the long trail of historical research as early as 1948 when Dale Morgan crossed his path some place in RLDS country. Arrington came forcibly to my attention only in the summer of 1957 when, just off the ranch, I took a Mormon history course from Eugene Campbell who recognized his genius and delighted us with his fresh insights. Arrington was at the Huntington Library in the mid-fifties where one presumes he met Ray Billington who, in a brilliant piece of historiographic statesmanship, was updating the frontier thesis and transforming the Mississippi Valley Historical Association into the more scholarly Organization of American History. With the help of colleagues,

Leonard was not only strong for a continued relationship between OAH and WHA but also held out for missing buffs and professionals in the latter in a formula by then badly dated. By the late 1960s, Arrington had moved from the WHA registration line to its boardroom and, cementing friendships throughout the organization, became its president in 1971. In that position, it was plain he was a master strategist himself, influential among other things in the emerging New Mormon History movement and looking to an amalgam between Mormon history and WHA.

A series of journal adjustments were implied by these developments. Significant were *Dialogue*, which Arrington and his followers contributed to, and the illustrated *American West*, brainchild of WHA and my mentors, A. R. Mortensen and G. C. Crampton at the University of Utah, which, it was hoped, could meet the needs of both popular and scholarly readers as per the Billington formula. However, success became its worst enemy; and in time, it was coopted by more popular interests, leaving WHA without a scholarly outlet.

This lacuna attracted journal proposals from several universities, including one from Utah State University put together by Arrington and his close coworker George Ellsworth, men of consummate ability in the give and take of campus affairs. After false starts, the Arrington/Ellsworth plan was ac-

cepted, and publication began in 1970s.

Meanwhile, I had accepted a position at the University of Utah that included acting as secretary for the OAH, which brought me into contact with Ray Billington, Martin Ridge, and retiring secretary Bill Aschbacher. It was an open door to American history, one through which lay opportunities in the OAH, WHA, Forest History, and the American Association for State and Local History, in each of which I served during the next twenty years. It also gave me a remarkable ringside seat to the chain of events outlined above. Attracting friends for Mormon history and making his own superb work into a bridge between Western and Mormon history, Arrington became Church Historian, elder statesman of WHA, and the backbone of the Mormon History Association and the Mormon history movement.

Returning to the welcome he gave me in the registration line back in 1962, it may be gratefully said that, with his wonderful gift for facilitating careers, Leonard Arrington received me into full membership in the fraternity. Papers I read were enthusiastically received, published, and guided to prizes. When my first book was published in 1973, he immediately became its unabashed promoter, going so far on its strength as to push me for the MHA Council and, in 1976, for president. More important, he was among the Westernists who had ral-

lied around me in 1969, getting me aboard at the Utah Historical Society as director and editor of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* when young turks at the University of Utah's History Department rebelled at the western connection. Even better, he showed up with George Ellsworth one day early in 1971 with an offer to join the History Department at the USU and to become George's associate at the *Western Historical Quarterly*. It was an offer that led to nineteen years with the journal, a stint on WHA's board, and associations with hundreds of the finest friends across the United States. Calling to discuss Leonard's death, Clyde Milner, *WHQ*'s fourth editor, allowed that Leonard would be pausing along heaven's roads to pick up coveted historical records. I'm confident, too, that Leonard will also pause at registration lines to welcome lonesome cowboys into a different and better kind of roundup.

Douglas D. Alder, St. George

Our generation had the great opportunity to be impacted by two giants—Leonard Arrington and Lowell Bennion, both of whom left us within a short period of time. Both became institutions. No title could elevate them more than their names, which, for many of us, ring with the highest inspiration. Their reputation came from within and from their own words and devotion. They were both men of the word, of the pen, but their impact has been as much on students as on readers.

Leonard promoted young scholars, scores of them, some his students but many not. Sometimes he would turn his research file over to a newcomer and vacate the topic in his or her favor. I clearly remember the founding meeting of the Mormon History Association—the first time the American Historical Association had met west of the Mississippi. Even though I was doing European research at the time, I attended because I had watched Leonard and George Ellsworth plan the organization and was convinced it would be memorable. About fifty people attended. Leonard conducted and introduced everyone by name and by research topic or academic emphasis. It was a tour de force, clearly illustrating his role as the promoter of scholarship on Mormon history.

At Utah State, I sent Leonard my research efforts. He read them quickly and sent them back with an encouraging note and suggestions about where to submit them. Leonard's personal work-style was fascinating. He kept several topics going at once, accumulating thick files on each. Then something would hit—be it a deadline or an inspiration. He would go home and isolate himself in his den for thirty-six to forty-eight hours, pounding out a manuscript on his manual typewriter. Grace would send in meals and keep the children from interrupting. Then, after day-and-night writing, he would emerge with a manuscript for Grace and others to read. He used this method to pro-

duce article after article, some 200 of them.

I have no doubt that my calling as the bishop of a student ward at USU came with Leonard's encouragement while he was a counselor to University Stake President Reed Bullen. I was barely thirty, in my first year on the USU faculty, still finishing my dissertation, and a long way from tenure. I could think of a dozen reasons why I was too untried to fill that calling, and Leonard knew them all. So for four years we worked together in an ecclesiastical effort. He was sandwiching his service inbetween writing and teaching just like I was, only much more productively.

The New Mormon History was his creation. He and many of his colleagues came out of World War II with a drive to achieve, went to national universities, pursued doctoral degrees, and gambled that they could write Mormon history that could meet the best academic standards—researching professionally and writing objectively. This was too much of a gamble for some. Many faithful Saints, both leaders and followers, wanted histories that built faith and omitted any topic that could cause anguish or present paradoxes. Like Soviet or Nazi leaders, they wanted history (and art) to be the handmaiden of ideology. Fawn Brodie had been excommunicated in 1945 for her naturalistic biography of Joseph Smith. Juanita Brooks spent many years in a sort of ecclesiastical ghetto—not formally pun-

ished but not fully accepted—for *Mountain Meadows Massacre*. She had established that serious scholarship on a sensitive Mormon topic could win acceptance by top academic presses with an evenhanded account—neither a cover-up nor an exposé. Neither precedent could be considered a ringing endorsement of scholarly objectivity.

Great Basin Kingdom, in my estimation, was the book that established the New Mormon History: a doctoral dissertation that passed tough academic scrutiny, gained a national publisher, established the new tone of objectivity, scholarship, and dignity, and gained immediate national respect.

Richard Nietzel Holzapfel Provo, Utah

My first memories of Leonard Arrington are from a history seminar he taught at BYU on the life and labors of Brigham Young. He was preparing to release his monumental biography on the Mormon leader. The class was held in a science room with amphitheater-style seating, the teaching area and blackboard at the bottom of the "pit." Leonard would give a little jump upward and sit on the table, feet dangling for the next fifty minutes as he read his manuscript to us. It is a visual image I will never forget. During the reading, he would make corrections to his manuscript, answer and ask questions, and entertain us with off-the-cuff comments, stories, and insights.

Sometimes the stories, generated by something he read, were very personal. I remember when Leonard told us the story of Brigham's conversion and his first experiences preaching and speaking in tongues. One of the students asked about the gift of tongues, and Leonard then told us about witnessing the exercise of that gift in the annex of the Salt Lake Temple. It was a powerful and profoundly personal telling of the story. All of us walked out of the class that day with detailed insights into the life of not only Brother Brigham, but also of Brother Leonard.

He was a gentle man, considerate of the feelings of each student and interested in promoting a real love for history in us. From that day forward, until just a few months ago, Leonard Arrington was a master teacher, mentor, and promoter of my own small efforts in researching and writing history. I never went to a meeting or conference that he did not take the time to say hello or encourage me to continue with my own projects. He gave my wife special attention, making her feel a part of the historical community also. He did the same for everyone. He wanted everyone to participate. He was friendly to the famous and to those not so famous. He read and gave suggestions to me regarding several articles published in the *Journal*. Within the past few months he wrote a letter of recommendation for my rank advance and continuing faculty status application at the uni-

versity. He also read carefully my latest manuscript dealing with the visual images of Brigham Young, even though he had his own busy schedule and health concerns.

On March 20 of this year, we were to speak together on the visual and verbal images of the American Moses at the Smith Institute's Brigham Young Symposium. I will miss him on that day especially but will always remember his example and his encouragement.

If everyone in MHA reached out to young students and historians as Leonard did, the organization would be ten times the size. He did not believe in a club of historians. He wanted everyone to participate in the study of the past.

Thank you, Leonard, for touching my life and making me feel that I had a place among those who practice one of the noblest professions in the world.

Gregory A. Prince
Potomac, Maryland

I was a "double outsider" with respect to Leonard—outside the Great Basin and outside the field of professionally written Mormon history. I had read his writings and had seen him at Mormon History Association meetings but had no significant personal contact with him until 1995, when I interviewed him in connection with the biography of David O. McKay that I am writing. During that interview, Leonard said:

Because President McKay was an educator, and spoke in a language

that appealed to people in the institution of learning, he sort of became my hero. That was while he was still an Apostle, and then he became President of the Church. And he was President of the Church for a long time. So there's this influence of tolerance, of encouragement of education and learning, of not being excessively theological on everything—more a practical approach in living more Christian lives, both collectively and individually. That was an important influence on me. I think you can't get over the influence that David O. had on a broad spectrum of people, by teaching tolerance and mutual respect and happiness in the Gospel.

Leonard's comments about President McKay shed as much light on himself as on the subject of our conversation, and serve ironically as his own eulogy.

I was deeply moved by Leonard's autobiography as, on a wonderful, memorable summer Sunday last year I read the entire book. The following day I sent him a letter thanking him for writing the book and particularly for the integrity and candor that showed through so magnificently. I stated that I was much in need of such a role model and described some discouraging experiences from a high level with another biography I was working on. His written response ended with an admonition that will forever be a source of strength and reassurance to me:

I too think he is fully worthy of a

biography and hope you will persevere. It is satisfying and sufficient that people you regard as faithful servants approve. Blessings on you! Leonard.

R. W. Rasband, Heber City, Utah

[Note: Originally posted as a review of *Adventures of a Church Historian* on AML-List, 18 September 1998, and submitted to the *Journal* as a personal tribute]

In Robert Graves's great historical novel, *I, Claudius*, the future Roman emperor and aspiring young historian Claudius meets two older historians in a library. Livy advocates writing history as a saga that expresses spiritual truths; Pollio says that facts are the most important elements in telling the story. Claudius comes to see that both views must be reconciled; and as he ascends to the throne, he cleverly and quietly writes the true history of the empire while recording his own transcendental experiences along the way. The poignancy of Claudius' quest is mirrored in Leonard Arrington's fine new memoir, *Adventures of a Church Historian*.

Arrington is one of the most distinguished historians the LDS Church has produced, along with Richard Bushman and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich. He has lived a full life, which he describes in his book: growing up poor in Idaho; high academic honors in college and graduate school; service in the U.S. Army during World War II in Italy and North Africa as an economist and administrator; author of many ex-

ceptional books and articles on Mormon history; and becoming the first non-General Authority Church Historian in 1972.

The most important aspect of this book is the spirit it radiates. The faithfulness, charity, warmth, and humor in it are very moving. Arrington says that his approach to writing history has always been to join reason *and* faith in a large context and common sense and testimony. Candor and honesty are vital; we need only believe things that are true. Touchingly, Arrington writes for the first time of the revelatory spiritual experiences he had in his career: "A feeling of ecstasy suddenly came over me—an exhilaration that transported me to a higher level of consciousness" (p. 28). He felt that the Lord had given him a special errand in chronicling LDS history. These divine encounters helped sustain him throughout the difficulties he would meet in carrying out his errand.

This relatively short book is full to bursting with Arrington's fascinating stories. The chapter about African Americans receiving the priesthood in 1978 is alone worth the price of the book. He relates his first intimidating interview with President Joseph Fielding Smith and his subsequent discovery of that man's puckish sense of humor. He describes his graduate school time in North Carolina and the influence on him of the Southern school of agrarian thought (otherwise known as "the fugitives")—Robert Penn

Warren, Allen Tate, and others. "They championed a revival of moral values and religious faith . . . an authentic American conservatism" (p. 25). This is an interesting intellectual confession from a man who in the past has been carelessly labeled as a "liberal." He recounts his Church service at Utah State University and the coming together in the 1960s of a "fraternity" of Mormon history scholars. His account of the founding of the LDS Historical Department is a rare and admirable glimpse into Church leadership decision-making.

Arrington assembled a talented team of scholars and proceeded to professionalize the archives and write history. Their accomplishments in the decade of "Camelot" (their nickname for Arrington's time in office) were abundant. The best known fruits of their efforts are: *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* by James Allen and Glen Leonard, a very influential book in the 1970s; Arrington and Davis Bitton's *The Mormon Experience*, still the best one-volume work about the Church in general; and Arrington's masterful biography of Brigham Young.

However, the Church Historian began to get opposition to his program. Even though he was supported by Presidents Harold B. Lee and Spencer W. Kimball, and Elders N. Eldon Tanner, Howard W. Hunter, Alvin Dyer, Joseph Anderson (and most surprisingly and gratifyingly, Bruce R. McConkie) and others, the Church leadership was a

collective enterprise in which the determined opposition of one, two, or three apostles could carry a great deal of weight. This is what happened when some conservative General Authorities attacked Arrington and company's interpretations of the past. They wanted, wrote Arrington in his journal, a Church Historian "who (1) has written little history; (2) saturates history with scriptural allusions and references; and (3) obstinately refuses to mention controversial episodes" (156). Arrington is forthright in naming the names of his adversaries.

There was also an element of bureaucratic turf battle in the controversy, Arrington writes. The Correlation Committee was determined to bring the writing of Church history under its control. Eventually that committee blacklisted all History Division works from Church manuals and publications (along with the writings of Eugene England and Lowell Bennion.) The History Division was eventually reduced in numbers by attrition and moved away from Church headquarters to BYU. Through all this Arrington kept his integrity and remained a humble servant of God. He considers the story of the History Division as akin to that of Zion's Camp—perhaps initially perceived as ending in failure, but with real potential for great things in later years.

While remaining a faithful latter-day Saint, Arrington retains an admirable independence of mind and

spirit. I think he identifies with the nineteenth-century Salt Lake bishop Edwin Woolley (an ancestor of Spencer W. Kimball and a man about whom Arrington has extensively written.) Once, after a disagreement, Brigham Young told Woolley, "Well, I suppose you are going to go off and apostatize." Woolley replied, "No, I won't. If this were your Church I might, but it's just as much mine as yours."

In my opinion, this is the best Mormon book of the year, an instant classic. It is a gripping and riveting read, in an odd sort of way for a Church memoir. It was Arrington and associates (along with Samuel W. Taylor) who helped light the fire of my testimony when I was just a kid, and for that I will be eternally grateful. There seems to be a cease-fire in the "history wars" on the publication of this book; a little surprisingly, it is available at Deseret Book. This has to be because everyone finally recognizes both what a good old man Arrington is and the truly wonderful nature of his contribution.

Edward L. Kimball, Provo, Utah

It is hard to think of the loss to the many circles to which Leonard Arrington belonged. As a newcomer to the Mormon history community I was surprised and gratified at his quick acceptance and personal interest.

No doubt what he wrote will continue to impress generations of readers with the range of his inter-

ests, his insight, the thoroughness of his research, and the directness of his style. But they will not appreciate some of his personal qualities. For instance, despite his eminence, at our first meeting he made me completely comfortable, and ever since he has greeted me as though I were a life-long friend.

Leonard is one of a very small number of people I have known who go the extra step of acknowledging others' work routinely. I think I have not published anything in years that did not bring a note from Leonard with generous, if not fulsome praise. His last such note is typical, received just days after the article appeared, written in his distinctive large script on cream-colored stationery with his chicken letterhead:

Dear Ed: What a splendidly informative article in the new *Journal of Mormon History*. Good writing, exhaustive research, and interesting. I've seen some of these changes [in temple recommend standards] in my life. Also changes in the temple ceremony. But I still get a feeling of purity and peace when I go. Leonard

What a contribution to the morale of an amateur to have the dean of Mormon historians take such a generous personal interest! Most of the things I have published in my professional life have gone unheralded. I recall how surprised and gratified I was at a note of appreciation from an eminent law professor at Northwestern University, with whom I had no connection. Even

though his was the only note, I knew that, if he read it and liked it, there probably were others, less thoughtful and responsive, with the same reaction. A little acknowledgment goes a long way! After all, I realize, how many things have I read and appreciated but not responded to? Leonard seems to have realized, more than anyone else I know, the value of such a personal response.

He was unfailingly generous with his praise, his thanks, and his help. When I think of Leonard Arrington I am just a little less lazy about expressing the thanks I so often feel for the good writing done by others. Before I knew Leonard I once bought a small stack of postcards with the intention of using them for quick thank-you notes. The other day I found one still in my drawer; it bears a five-cent stamp.

Anthony M. Aduhene
Nottingham, England

I was deeply saddened by the passing of Leonard Arrington. While in Utah in October 1998, I had the pleasure of spending about half an hour with him. I will surely treasure that time. I was in awe of this little man who was such a huge fountain of knowledge. He was inspiring and I count it a privilege to have met him, albeit briefly.

A few weeks after I returned home, I received an unexpected package from the University of Illinois Press. It was a signed copy of his last book, *Adventures of a Church Historian*. I was flabbergasted. It's nice to know that he must have liked

me. I was hoping to see him again; alas, that shall not be.

I am not a member of the LDS Church but I do have an insatiable fascination with the Church. As a second-year undergraduate of the University of Lancaster, I undertook a comparative study of the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I read Leonard's and Davis Bitton's *The Mormon Experience*. I haven't stopped reading Mormon books since then. It was an awesome read, as is his *Brigham Young: American Moses*.

Leonard, if you can see this, thanks for the memory.

Clayton A. Prince
St. George, Utah

Although I was born in St. George and lived there through my years at Dixie College before continuing my education at the University of Southern California, I learned and appreciated the history of Utah more after reading *Great Basin Kingdom* than I ever had before. Joyce and I took the opportunity of attending some of the Mormon History Association meetings, more to hear Leonard's lectures than for any other reason.

We appreciated the openness which he brought to the Church Historian's Department and were shocked when he was released from that position in 1982. We treasure the recent *Adventures of a Church Historian*, which confirmed in our minds the statement borrowed from

George Orwell's *Animal Kingdom*: "All animals are equal, only some are more equal than others." Substitute "people."

Marjorie Newton
Bass Hill, NSW, Australia

I am so sad. Everyone will miss him so much, even someone like me so far away. My first encounter with Leonard was at Oxford in 1987, when he presented my Reese Award. I just couldn't believe the nice things I heard him saying about my thesis. Afterwards he sought me out, found I was coming home to Australia by Salt Lake City, and told me to call him when I got there and he would take me to dinner at the Hotel Utah. I was too shy to do so. At that point, I didn't know him at all (that was my first MHA meeting) and didn't know if he really meant it.

In later encounters, at the MHA meetings I got to, he remembered me immediately (never the blank look "now who is she again?") and encouraged me to start the Australian Mormon Studies Association. His encouragement took a very practical form, as he sent several cheques to aid the cause. Everyone in the association adopted him as its patron saint.

As young marrieds, Don and I knew Leonard's brother Ross who served a mission in Australia in the mid-1950s. Ross was a colourful character—must have been a family trait! He and his companion were billeted on us for conferences occa-

sionally. Like Don, Ross was a fine pianist and he and Don soon became good friends. I once mentioned this to Leonard; and in 1992, when Don and I spent the summer with Lavina and Paul, Leonard got Ross to come to Sunstone from his home in California and took us all to lunch one day. We had a riotous time.

It still seems unbelievable to me that someone so eminent and so busy could find time to take such an interest in the affairs of someone as peripheral as I am.

I feel so sad for Harriet, and for all the family, and for all the MHA family. How much we owe him. How much we will miss him.

Robert J. Christensen
Eugene, Oregon

I am deeply saddened at the death of Leonard Arrington whom I met several times in the late 1960s but knew mostly through his graceful autobiography, *Adventures of a Church Historian*.

His was an exemplary life of devotion and integrity. There was never any doubt that his life was directed by a strong testimony of gospel-inspired living and of a will to consecrate his efforts to the progress of the Mormon Church. But he lived with just enough distance from the organizational church, in spite of his years as Church Historian, to preserve his personal integrity and the integrity of his work. He would not, could not lie for the Lord; but when he was pressured by the less scrupulous to cut his history

to fit the PR fashions popular in some haunts, he would humbly turn the pressures aside without provoking confrontation. He was a peaceable brother who refused to let himself be cankered by the machinations of others, even those in the highest places. Would that we might be more like him. I shall miss the warmth and presence of his example.

Dale L. LeCheminant
Salt Lake City

An era ends with Leonard's moving on. Wanda and I are members of the Lowell Bennion Study Group in Salt Lake City. For years Leonard and Harriet were faithful and equal participants in that group, freely and kindly sharing with us their erudition, good sense, humor, and insights. Almost self-effacing, Leonard never "traded on" these qualities to aggrandize himself, either there or anywhere else to our knowledge.

Just one fond memory of his personal influence. I was looking for a friend in the LDS History Division corridors downtown when Leonard came energetically striding by. All of a sudden he stopped, wheeled around, quickly walked back, clapped me on the shoulder and with a smile, and enthusiastically said, "That was a good piece of work!" I presumed he had looked at my newly minted doctoral dissertation. Then he was off down the hall in pursuit of his cause of Church history—honest research, straightforward writing and encouragement to

others engaged in Church history. He was, indeed, a splendid and good human being, who reached out to everyone, detractors and supporters alike. I will miss him as a model gentleman and scholar—and friend.

E. Gary Smith
Santa Ana, California

I remember my visit to the Church Historian's office in either 1978 or 1979. I introduced myself to Leonard and told him I wanted to write a history of the office of patriarch to the Church. He showed great enthusiasm for the project and encouraged me to do it. He immediately suggested I look into Max Weber's theory of religious institutional development and gave me a brief description of it. I followed that thesis; and with Irene's help to flesh out the subject, we wrapped our *Lost Legacy* around that concept. We concluded that his advice was right on the mark.

He always asked thereafter how the project was coming, and gave further encouragement. He became a personal friend, as he was to everyone he met. He will be missed.

Esther L. Cahoon, Plano, Texas

It was approximately eighteen or nineteen years ago that I was introduced to who Leonard Arrington was. I was only seventeen myself and saw him as nothing more than a very nice gentleman. But my then boyfriend, later my husband, saw Leonard Arrington as much more than just a man. To him, Leonard

Arrington was a demigod who was larger than life and has grown only larger over the years. Initially, I couldn't quite understand what was so impressive about Arrington, but through the years, my perspective has changed considerably.

In support of my sweet husband, I have spent these past eighteen years attending various historical lectures, symposia, and the MHA meetings in all of its locations. In addition, our family library has multiplied considerably with books that grace our shelves and have replaced Bronte, Shakespeare, Dickinson, Scott, Twain, and others whom I have loved.

Initially, I found my husband's obsession with Church history to be a little much, but I must say that, eighteen years later, I understand the passion that comes from the laborious efforts of historians everywhere. Leonard Arrington was the ultimate! I valued his research abilities, his tremendous writing style, his ability to interact with people from every walk of life—the intellectual and the not so learned—but most of all, I valued his example in being courageous enough to record a complete history—"the good, the bad and the ugly"! He is not only a tremendous scholar, but in my humble eyes, he towered over others as a gentle, loving, and very Christlike man.

I will especially treasure a very tender memory of Leonard Arrington at MHA in Lamoni, Iowa. Harriet and I were leaving the

women's bathroom at the same time, and Leonard, dressed in his flannel p.j.'s, was standing just outside, waiting to speak with her. I was so tickled to have seen this "demigod" as a lovable man, someone who could easily have been my father or an uncle! I am honored to have been in his company during our mortal journey.

Doug Cahoon, Plano, Texas

I am not a professional historian and met Leonard only once at MHA in Lamoni, Iowa. The impact that Leonard made on me has come from his writings. While most of the press has lauded *Great Basin Kingdom* and *American Moses*, it was another of his books that has affected me for years. In the early 1980s, I purchased a very worn and abused copy of his *Edwin Woolley: From Quaker to Latter-day Saint*. Up to that point, I had had limited interest in history, including Mormon history. I started reading the book and could not put it down. I was fascinated with the amount of material (over 600 pages) on this "middle wagon" Mormon. It was refreshing to read such a well-written book about a man who was "neither in the very front with the greatest leaders, nor in the last group of followers." It was my real start with a wonderful journey through Mormon history.

I carry two quotations from Leonard with me and have used them many times in firesides, Gospel Doctrine classes, and sacrament meetings. The first one relates how, after a disagreement that Edwin

Woolley had with President Brigham Young, Brigham said to him, "Well, I suppose now you are going to go off and apostatize." No, I won't," responded Edwin. "If this were your Church I might, but it's just as much mine as it is yours."

The other is from a news report by Dennis Lythgoe, of a dinner speech that Leonard gave shortly after he donated his papers to USU, with General Authorities in the audience (one of whom had been his student):

Speaking reverently of Young, Arrington said, "He loved the birds. . . One day a pigeon blundered into his office. Young asked the pigeon, "What message do you have for me, little one?" The message was "Be kind to your brothers who love you but do not always agree with you." "That," said a visibly moved Arrington, "is my message to you."

This is one of the greatest lessons for us all to learn.

Last month I purchased a used copy of *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint* that is in much better shape than the one I purchased many years ago. I had hoped to get Leonard to autograph it at MHA in Ogden and tell him how he and his writings have affected me. I waited too long.

M. Guy Bishop Woods Cross, Utah

I first met Leonard Arrington when I was a doctoral student. I was impressed that he, the eminent Mormon historian, had time for me, a graduate student (not even his own

graduate student). In my eyes, Leonard served as the prime example of how a well-respected scholar should act toward someone who was hopeful of, someday, following in his footsteps.

It is as a high-quality human being that I will always remember Leonard. To the best of my knowledge, he always had a kind and encouraging word for everyone. To me, Leonard J. Arrington truly embodied all that is good in the Mormon history community. Sound, path-breaking scholarship combined with encouragement and genuine friendship. Goodbye, Leonard. You will be missed.

Charles L. Schmalz, Ogden, Utah

Leonard was a big factor in getting me started in the field of sugar history. He graciously answered my early letters, critiqued my early work, and later gave me permission to access some of his files in the LDS History Department. Leonard treated me like a professional colleague, despite my definite amateur status. He never made me feel like the bumbler I was (and hopefully have ceased to be, in part at least, because of his encouragement and advice).

I have always felt Leonard was a living example of the term "gentleman and scholar." My life is richer for having known him.

Eileen B. McKean, Salt Lake City

When I heard of Leonard Arrington's death, my first thought was that those who will be greeting

him as he reaches the other side, in addition to his family, will be those whose histories and journals he has researched and written about. And they will say: "Here comes one who got our story right. Come, let us visit and talk!" He, of course, will be smiling and eager to meet them and ask many questions.

Every MHA trip I took was enhanced by Leonard and Harriet's love of the areas we were visiting. Their enthusiasm and knowledge, as well as their curiosity concerning questions they might have, made the trips all the more enjoyable. What a privilege for all of us to have associated with him.

Irene M. Bates

Pacific Palisades, California

Professor Leonard Arrington was one of the truly great historians of the LDS Church whose gifts and professional integrity will continue to be an inspiration to me and my husband, as well as to legions of others. But he was a gentleman, too, in every sense of the word. Remembering his kindness to me, as well as his warm encouragement, brings a deep sense of personal loss.

Years ago, as a fledgling historian, I asked Leonard why a certain date that he'd noted in his talk differed from the one given in the official Church accounts. He responded respectfully to my question without a trace of condescension. He simply said that this was where his research had led him, that the past was often elusive, and that we

could only do our best. Then, he added, "You and I in our research, for instance, might come up with different conclusions, and we'd just have to agree to differ."

Meeting Leonard at MHA or Sunstone through the years has been heartwarming and somehow reassuring. Those gatherings just won't be the same without him. The genuineness of his greeting, his wonderful sense of humor, and his fairness and compassion will be sadly missed.

We often don't realize how much a particular person means to us until that individual departs from this world, leaving behind a great void in our own lives. That certainly proved true for me as I learned of Leonard Arrington's death. Though I never belonged to Leonard's closest circle of friends and associates, his life and work affected me profoundly, and I will miss him very much.

William A. (Bert) Wilson
Provo, Utah

Because I have always enjoyed history, I have, throughout my career, tried to merge my own folklore studies with historical pursuits. At the outset, some ridiculed my attempts, claiming that folklore study would muddy the waters of pure historical research and should be avoided, not embraced, by serious historians. No such claim ever came from Leonard. From the first time I met him some thirty years ago until the end of his life, he welcomed me as a colleague engaged in mutually supporting efforts to understand

these strange creatures we call Mormons.

And he never quit encouraging me. Whenever I achieved some success, no matter how small, I would get a letter of congratulations from Leonard. In 1985, after I had published a nondescript little piece, "We Did Everything Together': Farming Customs of the Mountain-west," in *Northwest Folklore*, a journal whose circulation could not have passed a hundred, Leonard wrote, thanking me for the piece and telling me about experiences in his Idaho youth that paralleled what I had sketched in the article. That he ever found the piece and that he took time to read it and write me about it still amaze me.

After I became director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, a position Leonard had once held himself, he served as a loyal member of our advisory council and supported my efforts to broaden the range of arts and humanities projects that the center would undertake. He also saved me from making mistakes that would have caused both me and the center considerable harm. Always he was encouraging, never disparaging. Of the plaques and certificates of award on my office wall, the one I treasure most is the 1997 "Grace Fort Arrington Award for Historical Excellence," an award I certainly owe to Leonard's influence on my life and work.

Shortly before Leonard died, I read his *The Adventures of a Church*

Historian. I found the story he told fascinating. I learned much that I did not know. But I value the work because of Leonard's faith and commitment that animate every page. He has become one of the pillars of my faith. When that faith sometimes falters, I think of Leonard. In the face of setbacks, opposition, and sometimes downright persecution, he remained true. How can I do any less?

Becky Bartholomew
Castleford, Idaho

I worked for Leonard as a researcher/writer from 1974 to 1982 with the exception of a six-month interval around 1979. A consummate networker, Leonard kept in touch even during my leave of absence, handing down a couple of "entrepreneurial" opportunities that came his way, including an editing assignment from Deseret Book Company. The circumstances of this project illustrate the quality of Leonard's character.

Deseret Book had received a manuscript of a biography of President N. Eldon Tanner. It was written by a committee of staff and younger historians, with G. Homer Durham as the compiler, contributor, and guiding light. Apparently Deseret Book editors felt that the manuscript was well researched but not so well organized and in other ways did not do full justice to President Tanner.

This was after some tension had developed in the Historical Depart-

ment, rooted in several leaders' dissatisfaction with Leonard's management and approach to writing ecclesiastical history. Elder Durham was one of his critics and had apparently been instrumental in having Leonard essentially demoted. Despite this situation, I was not surprised to learn Deseret Book had approached Leonard with the manuscript—after all, who could they have found better qualified to assess it?—and that Leonard had agreed to do it. His work slate was full, yet he was very concerned that a biography of President Tanner reflect the excellence of that leader's life. He deeply loved, respected, and admired the man.

He asked me to take on the project and insisted that I tell no one about it. It turned out that the manuscript needed more work than one person could complete before its scheduled publication date. With Leonard's permission, I gave half of the chapters to my mother, Gloria Thompson Foster, who is a fine writer and who had had book editing experience. Together she and I substantially restyled the biography. Leonard paid us from the Mormon Trust Fund to which I assume Deseret Book then donated. Until now, neither my mother nor I has violated our pledge to Leonard of confidentiality.

In retrospect, I have a better understanding of Leonard's motives in conducting this assignment. He accepted it primarily out of his boundless devotion to good history. But

also he was old fashioned in his loyalty to the Church, concerned that its leaders, including Elder Durham, be protected from embarrassment. Finally, he did not want his act of decency publicized, for Leonard was a Christian, without scheming and without guile. It was for this quality more than any other that, with everyone else privileged to work with Leonard, I loved him, honored him, and miss him already.

Richard D. Ouellette
Sacramento, California

I didn't know Leonard Arrington well, yet his death saddens me. It brings my mind back to those two weeks during my mission when, in addition to the standard works, I would proudly carry along Arrington's biography of Brigham Young, eager to sneak in a chapter or two between appointments. It takes me back to that period when I would awaken early, before my companion arose, in order to read *The Mormon Experience*, which Arrington coauthored with Davis Bitton. I was a recent-convert-turned-missionary, and those books were important to me. They helped instill the Mormon tradition in me. They helped ground me in the faith-processes that most of my fellow missionaries had experienced simply by being raised in the Church. Those titles (though not only those titles) made me feel more "Mormon." Even now, fourteen years later, Arrington's work still has the same effect on me.

Upon learning of his death, I sat down and finally read *Great Basin*

Kingdom, something I should have done a long time ago. And once again, he has made me identify with the Saints of yesteryear, made me feel proud of our collective past. It's no wonder that yesterday I found myself excitedly pondering the possibilities of the Law of Consecration with a friend; Leonard Arrington has once again made me feel more "Mormon."

Leonard, for me, represented a less divisive, more optimistic, period of Mormon intellectual life. He encouraged everyone—Mormons and non-Mormons, women and men, secularists and theists, actives and nonactives, amateurs and professionals, young and old—to bring their skills and passions to bear on the study of Mormon history, believing that in the end it would produce a better history and a stronger Church. I fear that this dream may have died with Leonard. I fear that the polarization presently engulfing LDS intellectual life will carry the day. I fear that the center will not hold, and that those of us who want to both build and question our faith will be forced to choose between the two. And I hope that my fears prove to be unfounded.

Last summer, as I perused the LDS titles at Sam Weller's Bookstore, I came across Leonard's recently published tome on Idaho and his memoirs as Church Historian. I recall the sweet feeling that came over me as I handled the books. As a careprovider for my elderly mother and aunt, I found Ar-

rington's continued productivity rather surprising and deeply pleasing. It made me admire him all the more. And for a brief moment, I wondered if perhaps all was not so bad in Mormon intellectual life, as if perhaps polarization might not define the future. And I wondered if Leonard might somehow cheat death, if his life might somehow be quickened with the dawning of the millennium and, against all hope, if he might help us regain some of the optimism and inclusiveness that he so capably represented. I'm sorry that he is gone.

Phillip C. Smith, Laie, Hawaii

As someone who has also known Leonard from Logan where I grew up, and from many contacts since I was a student at USU, I did want to add one observation about him that, in my estimation, makes him a great person as well as a great historian. Leonard, like my relative Lowell Bennion, encountered Church-related situations that were not particularly pleasant. I can still remember driving Lowell home shortly after he was "released" from his assignment as Institute of Religion director at the University of Utah. We spoke of the release effort, spearheaded apparently primarily by Ernest Wilkinson. I can still remember how gracious and forgiving Lowell was about the turn of events, and how it was clear to me that he retained his strong testimony of the kingdom and his willingness to remain loyal to it and continue to

serve faithfully in whatever he was asked to do. What greatness! What a marvelous example to all of us like myself who have suffered from time to time from what appeared to us to be "unrighteous dominion" but which may have simply been an unwitting test to see if our commitment to the gospel and the Lord's Church was greater than the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." I love Lowell Bennion.

Similarly, I love Leonard Arrington for much the same reason. He could have taken umbrage at what happened in the early 1980s, but he chose not to. He stayed steadfast to what he knew to be true and was the great person that he was in part because of this response. History will honor Leonard for many things, but in the eternal scheme of things nothing is more important than a forgiving heart.

**Wayne K. Hinton
Cedar City, Utah**

My first personal experience with Dr. Arrington was in 1961 at Utah State University as I enrolled in his U.S. economic history class. I knew him only by reputation at this point and through *Great Basin Kingdom*, a 1958 first edition that I had recently acquired and which is now the most battered book on my shelves due to constant use. My first impression was that for a man of such reputation, Dr. Arrington is not a very large man nor a very dynamic lecturer. I soon discovered that his lectures, although not overly dynamic,

were a well-prepared, clearly organized analysis that demonstrated a creative mind at work. He challenged some of my habits of thinking and inspired a reverence for learning. Despite his short stature, he turned out to be a giant of a role model, lifelong mentor, and friend. It was soon apparent that Dr. Arrington took great personal interest in his students, particularly those who showed potential. He became an advocate who pushed and advised in positive ways. It was Dr. Arrington who encouraged me to go to graduate school, who helped me obtain a graduate research fellowship and who gave advice on a thesis topic. When he discovered that I, as a married graduate student with two small children, was struggling financially, he told me, "It is no disgrace to be poor; it is just damned inconvenient." Besides the advice, he hired me to do some research on a grant that he was working on. Out of that research, I was able to coauthor two articles with Dr. Arrington. Additionally, from his knowledge of my thesis research, we coauthored an article for the *BYU Studies* winter issue 1964, which was my first publication.

To say that Dr. Arrington mentored me and that he motivated, inspired, directed, and launched my career as a historian is totally true. When I decided to return to graduate school to work on a Ph.D., Dr. Arrington wrote letters of reference for my application and helped in my securing another graduate research

assistantship. He was later of great help in securing my admission to post-doctoral study at the University of California, Davis, in 1976.

His encouragement continued right up until the last time I saw him last spring. I knew at that time that he was not well, but his concern was still for others. He wrote letters and notes of encouragement and inquiry and always had time at conventions for discussion and to give help and encouragement. His warm, smiling face, his glad handshake, and his conversation were a highlight of any meeting or convention. One never dared attend a professional gathering without having a project in the works, because Dr. Arrington always wanted to know what was happening professionally; and if something was not in the works, he had a smiling rebuke to the neglectful historian to get busy and to stay constantly involved in research and writing.

Many of the highlights of my less than luminous career are associated in one way or another with Dr. Arrington including participation at conventions, articles coauthored or inspired by him, shared experiences, serving on committees and boards, hosting him, reading his many articles and books, and basking in his light and advice. All who were so blessed as to know Dr. Arrington as a teacher, friend, mentor, or reader of his works is a better person for the association. I will ever be indebted to him for his great per-

sonal influence on my life and my career.

Linda King Newell
Deep Springs Valley, California

For those of us who were fortunate enough to write Mormon history when Leonard Arrington served as Church Historian, his passing is particularly poignant. An entire generation of historians benefited not only from his honest, even-handed approach to our history, but from his spontaneous humor, constant encouragement, and sage advice.

Jack and I had the privilege of being part of the Lowell Bennion Study Group with Leonard and Harriet for many years. In that intimate setting among friends, we experienced many heartfelt moments when spirit touched spirit. Leonard's attention to others' feelings, his probing questions, his ability to laugh at himself, his undaunted spirit, and his abiding faith were examples to us all. We will miss him.

L. Jackson Newell
Deep Springs Valley, California

I have always admired those rare people who possess irrepressible spirits. Leonard Arrington was one of my favorites. Energetic, happy, and persistent in applying his talents to historical scholarship—and to life—Leonard soared above his small-minded critics and made authentic research and writing about the Mormon past possible for himself and for scores of others. He

has already inspired two generations of intellectually honest scholars who are following his lead. What an enduring contribution he has made to his burgeoning, beloved, but still fledgling religion and culture! I lift my hat in Leonard Arrington's honor. Long live his words, his courage, and his spirit among the Mormons.

Barbara Haugsoen, Salt Lake City

My favorite memory of Leonard occurred at MHA in Hawaii. We were seated next to each other during a banquet, watching Polynesian dancers swivel their hips and shake their bodies in rhythm with the fast-paced music. "Watch their *hands*, everybody! Watch their *hands*!" Leonard was exclaiming to the people sitting around us. Then he laughed and laughed.

What a treasure! Whenever I read one of his books, heard him speak (and fortunately there were a lot of opportunities), or just saw him at Albertsons, my paramount thought was: This is the most important and accomplished Latter-day Saint living today.

Andrew Piereder, Lehi, Utah

I first encountered Leonard Arrington by reading *Mormon Experience*. I was so impressed that I still lend out my copy to friends with an interest in learning more about the Church. Subsequently I purchased and read many of his other better-known works and made it a point to seek out his articles. I finally got to meet the man at a book signing for

Adventures of a Church Historian last fall. I had heard the signing announced on the radio; and although I am not normally a “fan,” I really wanted to hear and meet him. He related aspects of his life and opened the floor to questions. As one would expect, many of the questions were pointed and controversial, but he handled all of them with grace and discretion. What impressed me most, though, was that after I purchased his book and waited in the very short line to have him sign it, we started talking. He surprised me by wanting to know who I was and about my background; but while such tactics are often used cynically by politicians to provide the illusion of warmth and humanity, Arrington exuded a sincerity and curiosity that impressed me as much as his intellectual attainments.

Gary James Bergera
Salt Lake City

For readers of my generation interested in scholarly Mormon studies, Leonard J. Arrington was larger-than-life, his chef d’oeuvre *Great Basin Kingdom* an icon worthy of veneration. Sadly, however, I think most of us never had a chance to know something of Leonard as colleague and friend and especially of his kindness and humor that could be so disarming.

I remember taking a class from Leonard at BYU in the fall of 1977. He was Church Historian, in full form, and in full command. He was everything we’d heard about and

hoped for: knowledgeable, engaging, and open-minded, but what we hadn’t expected was his humor and the puckish twinkle in his eye that occasionally enlivened a particular episode in Mormon history. I also remember his periodically looking around the room and asking—half-jokingly, half-seriously—if anybody was spying on him. (He later said that a student did confess to having been asked to report back to the administration on his class.)

To outsiders, the scholarly Mormon history community can seem closed, even elitist, at times. Leonard would have none of this. He was encouraging and genuinely interested in what historians—professional and amateur alike—were studying. I never found him to be judgmental, condescending, or disingenuous. His own interests ran the gamut, from water rights to gender studies, from the sugar beet industry to the history of sexuality. While I suspect he disagreed with many of the things he read, I never once heard him attack anyone’s personal beliefs or lifestyle. In fact, where some of his colleagues turned their backs on former associates whose pathbreaking, controversial studies brought them special condemnation, Leonard went out of his way to offer support and encouragement.

Leonard was a towering figure. I salute his enduring contribution to Mormon history; I value his commitment to honesty and openness; I envy his camaraderie with people;

and I cherish his memory because he loved us.

Chieko N. Okazaki, Salt Lake City

I met Leonard when he came to the first area conference in the Far East with President Kimball. My husband, Ed, was president of Japan-Okinawa Mission, a mission that was created when we were called. The world's fair was in Osaka in 1970. We were under such pressure with so many things, and here came Leonard with that great laugh he had, a twinkle in his eye, and a hug for everyone. I just had the feeling that he was our friend for life, and that's what happened.

But he wasn't this way just with us. He talked to the missionaries and praised them so sincerely for their facility in the language and for their ability to express themselves in Japanese that I think we all forgot that he couldn't speak Japanese. He made them feel so valued, so appreciated. He was fatherly and brotherly at the same time. You could lean against his happiness.

**Annette Tucker Matkin
South Jordan, Utah**

I worked with Leonard Arrington in the Historical Department for ten years from 1972 to 1982. He was a kind and sweet man with the cutest laugh. He was always jovial and seemed to be having such a good time at everything he did.

The first department summer party was a potluck. When I was explaining the time and place to Leonard, he beamingly volunteered

to bring "Southern fried chicken because my wife makes the very best!" She did, too! We all enjoyed that canyon party.

I cherish a letter that Leonard wrote and signed, thanking me for all of the oral histories I had typed for the History Division while he was with the Historical Department. Although I did not work full-time for that division, I was trained to do oral histories by Gary Shumway when the program started and did them in my spare time. It was very interesting work, and I loved doing it.

When I was preparing to be married in 1987 after reaching nearly my fortieth birthday, I received a call soon after the wedding invitations went out. Leonard was on the other end of the line. My invitation had just reached him and Harriet. He seemed so happy for me and wanted to know all about the wedding and my husband to be. When I said my fiancé was from Chubbuck, Idaho, Leonard laughed, "Now I know where that is because I'm from Idaho." I said, "Yes, that's why I told you. I tell everyone else 'Pocatello' because nobody knows where Chubbuck is!" He was always so cordial and concerned. We will all miss him sorely.

**Robert and Dixie Huefner
Salt Lake City**

We have considered Leonard a special friend since 1959 when Bob came upon *Great Basin Kingdom* in the MIT Sloan School library display of new acquisitions. We were dating

at the time, and Bob's view then and now was that the book's honesty, thoroughness, and usefulness opened new doors, set new standards, and gave new hope for intelligent reflections about Mormonism and the West. We became instant Leonard fans. In this and his later work, Leonard truly changed not just the understanding, but the nature, of Mormon and Utah culture: with his work contemporary Mormons became more objectively reflective and, through that, a better people.

Five years later, Bob had the opportunity to become personally associated with Leonard as they worked together on an economic analysis of present-day Utah. The project provided background for state planning and budgeting, as part of a strategic planning program Bob then directed for Governor W. W. Clyde and later for Governor Calvin Rampton. Bob asked to meet with interested social science faculty at Utah State University and the University of Utah and was pleasantly surprised when one of those professors introduced himself as Leonard Arrington. Working with Leonard was a particularly satisfying experience for Bob. The state was charting new ground, and the people with whom Bob was working needed to continually adjust the course of their analyses, as they better understood the territory. Leonard was a key person in building attitudes of trust and flexibility as Bob worked with a dozen members of the social

science faculties at both universities. Leonard helped the group keep the focus on their ultimate objectives rather than being bound by the details of what had been said or written a few months earlier.

Bob took advantage of the wind-fall association with Leonard in other ways. He arranged for Dixie to meet Leonard and Grace in Logan as we traveled to a meeting in the Northwest. That dinner meeting opened the way for Leonard's subsequent dinner with Ed Banfield, professor of political science at Harvard, a dinner that Leonard mentions in his *Adventures of a Church Historian*. Dixie had been Banfield's editorial and research assistant and knew about his special interest in the Mormons and their history. Banfield shared his respect for Leonard with Dixie and asked if she could arrange a meeting. As Leonard suggests in his memoir, Banfield could not ascertain from *Great Basin Kingdom* whether Leonard was a Latter-day Saint and wanted to see for himself, a fact that he considered a great tribute to Leonard's scholarship and objectivity.

In recent years, we have had repeated opportunities to enjoy Leonard's and Harriet's company. They are wonderfully gracious people, whom we have enjoyed tremendously. It was a special privilege to share them with our children at the party we gave after Eric's marriage to Martha Thomas, a North Carolinian, at which time Leonard explained to those assembled all about

the historic Mormon, Utah/North Carolina connection. It was during this time that we discovered how much Leonard loved barbecued ribs. Since then both Leonard and Harriet have made special contributions to the lives of our other son, Steve, and his wife, Julianne Clawson, through Leonard's biographies of Julianne's grandparents, Harold and Madelyn Silver.

Isn't it interesting (and unexpected) how many ties have developed to bind us together! We cherish every one of them and the contributions that Leonard made to our lives. We will miss his optimism, his smile, his laugh, and his rare gifts of intellect and spirituality. Even after his death he is and will remain a public treasure and a dear friend.

Cherry Silver, Salt Lake City

Barnard and I, and our children, Madelyn and Cannon, became better acquainted with Leonard and Harriet Arrington during the MHA Wales and Scotland tours of 1987. After we moved to Salt Lake City and contracted with him to write the Harold F. Silver biography for Silver Publishers, that friendship expanded. In 1995, he included me on the board of directors of the Arrington Foundation. That relationship led to more interchange of ideas and mutual appreciation as we rode together to Logan, ate chicken at Maddox's, and learned about his family and career.

Leonard pledged to contribute his books and papers to the Special

Collections section of the Merrill Library at Utah State University. In 1995, he delivered the first Arrington Lecture on Mormon history, "Faith and Intellect as Partners in Mormon History," in which he highlighted Eliza R. Snow and Emmeline B. Wells as well as Brigham Young and George Q. Cannon. These lectures have since brought to Logan Richard Bushman, Richard Bennett, Howard Lamar, and, in 1999, Claudia L. Bushman. Leonard noted that this was the only lecture-ship in the state concentrating on Mormon history. In addition, in September 1997, he delivered a fascinating lecture on early entrepreneurs of Cache Valley, to which the descendants were invited to be honored—and hopefully help build the research endowment. Leonard planned next to write the history of Salt Lake Valley entrepreneurs for a second economic lecture.

Through donations to the Arrington Foundation, the Merrill Library at USU will catalog his papers, build a special room to house his materials, and endow research fellowships. Leonard envisioned a center combining papers and people and outlets for research. So passionate he was about getting the lecture-ship properly started that at one point Harriet murmured to me, "Leonard doesn't realize he's not on the board. He feels he has to make all the choices himself." Certainly his views carried weight as he swept his mentoring arms around the many fine historians he knew,

searching for the one that particular year whom he felt had a timely message to present.

I was heartened to learn the extent of his Church leadership in Logan where he served in the presidency of the University Stake. I thought he handled the question of intellectual honesty in writing Church history in the preface to his autobiography, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, as well as anyone I have read and was pleased to tell him so.

I knew that Leonard laughed at writers who fussed over computer hardware and software, while he just plunked away on his upright typewriter turning out manuscripts. Harriet transcribed them on computer. His determination to see a project through to the end rose again last spring. He worked with us to see the Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver biography, which he had finished two years earlier, through publication. It had been a venture for him to write the story of a woman and to take a representative woman, rather than a famous one, though as Henry James would have said, she was a very fine specimen. It was also a venture that the commercial presses felt could not be profitable for them.

He therefore negotiated with Mary Ann Lush of Publishers Press for us to publish the book privately, and he himself wrote appeals to family members to help underwrite the project. I drove with him to Publishers Press to make decisions on typog-

raphy and cover stock. As soon as they had the type set, he selected the best photographs from those Elizabeth Silver Clawson had sent over. We two sat down one evening together last November to arrange photographs in the text. He spoke firmly for his choices. After the page proofs arrived, he spent two weeks finishing the index. Leonard, Harriet, Barnard, and I made corrections rapidly so that the volume could appear in mid-December 1998. After it appeared, Leonard felt too weak to sign many copies, but he did autograph a few for family members and former colleagues. He had Harriet send off copies to be considered by the Evans Biography Prize committee. And he commented, "It's pretty good, isn't it, as my first biography of a woman!" We have received comments from readers like Elaine Jack who dropped a line to him, too, remarking that she had "never read a better biography."

We can imagine him meeting the subjects of many of his biographies in that paradise of reunions where "that same sociality which exists among us here will exist among us there" (D&C 130:2).

Barnard Silver, Salt Lake City

My highlights with Leonard have been many and varied. One of my choicest experiences was to travel together to Denver in the winter of 1996 to interview friends of my mother, Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver, for the biography he was working on.

I was deeply touched by

Leonard's sensitivity to the people he interviewed. He was so responsive to the experiences and feelings of Ray Kimball, past president of the Denver Temple. He was equally responsive to Adrus Kimball's lively memories of my mother.

I began to see how a gifted historian works in evaluating the life of a person about whom he is writing. All those he interviewed, he treated with the utmost respect. I began to wonder, as I watched Leonard at work, if Christ himself weren't a historian at heart. I experienced people explaining the goodness of my mother's life and how their lives had been made better by their contact with her. As Leonard wove these interviews into the story of my mother's life and used materials from her diaries and writings, I felt strongly the power of his gift as a historian recording spiritual gifts. I was grateful for Leonard's versatility in being able to write a biography of a woman with equal capacity as he wrote biographies of men.

Before I read Leonard's biography on Brigham Young, I wondered why my great-grandfathers and all the other Saints during his time called him "Brother Brigham" instead of "President Young." Leonard found the answer for me when he quoted from the *Journal of Discourses* 4:281:

I had this trial when I embraced the gospel. "Can you forsake your friends and your father's house?" This was in the vision of my mind,

and I had just as much of a trial as though I had actually been called to experience all that some really have. . . . I was brought to the test, "Can I forsake all for the Gospel's sake?" "I can," was the reply within me. "Would you like to?" "Yes, if they will not embrace the Gospel." "Will not these earthly natural ties be continually in your bosom?" "No; I know of no other family but the family of God gathered together, or about to be, in this my day; I have no other connection on the face of the earth that I claim." (*Brigham Young: American Moses*, 28-29)

Leonard brought to my consciousness and living awareness through the writing of his biographies, and especially his autobiography, and by the tenor of his entire life the nature of the true family of disciples of Jesus Christ.

Leonard Arrington will always be my exemplar in seeking and finding truth.

Madison H. Thomas **Salt Lake City**

Leonard Arrington—the most honored name in the annals of Mormon history!

But he also had a talent for welcoming the neophyte and helping nonhistorians to understand the world. When Marion and I first began attending Mormon history meetings, we were awed by him and surprised to find he remembered our names and all about us. And when I ventured to make a presentation at one of the meetings, his

questions were kindly and encouraging.

My last contact with him was last June when the national organization “Descendants of John Gaither” met here in Salt Lake City. My great-grandmother Jane Gaither was disowned by her family when she married a Thomas, joined the Church, and migrated to Utah in the late 1840s, finally settling in Plain City. After we gave a brief sketch of her life, Leonard gave us the big picture of what was going on around her in the last half of the nineteenth century. He covered politics and wars; but more specifically we were impressed with the details we had discovered about daily life in little Plain City. Our Gaither guests from the four corners of the country were most grateful to him.

May we emulate his faith, his diligence, and willingness to serve.

Ken Stobaugh Independence, Missouri

I don’t recall knowing a more gracious individual than Leonard Arrington. A group of RLDS were touring the new Church Office Building in Salt Lake City in the early 1970s with Leonard as our guide. That was over twenty-five years ago, and there is still a pleasant feeling when I think of that time together. He tried to have us think of him as just “one of the guys”—but we knew he was more than that.

Letter from Richard J. Cracroft

December 4, 1998

Dear Leonard:

I finished reading *Adventures of a Church Historian* two weeks ago and I can’t stop discussing it with every poor critter who crosses my path. Your wonderful account of your ineffable but oh-so-influential transcendent experience launches your adventure and gives appreciated insight into why you did what you did so well, so vigorously, and for so long (and continue to do); and it helps us weaker vessels to understand how you kept the faith with Him, despite the bruising (and kindly and judiciously but honestly recounted) bouts with a few who saw/see it otherwise (and must continue to do so to stay true to their lights). I just wanted to say thank you for showing how a good man of faith can write good history about his fellow-beings without losing that faith.

I thought your chapter on the 1978 revelation on the priesthood was precious—the best thing ever done on it and likely to remain such until the Lord comes and gives his perspective on the event. Throughout, your gentle, unbarbed, yet honest frankness in recounting events is as refreshing as President Hinckley’s wit at general conference. Your account of the mantling and dismantling of the Church Historian’s Office is as exciting as any novel I’ve ever read, and though Camelot, or Arrington’s Spring became a sad but inevitable *Götterdämmerung*. I have seldom felt as relieved as I felt when you and the gang were “sprung”—scathed but whole, and

living to fight again another day— and keep the faith, to boot!

Adventures of a Church Historian is a wonderful spiritual, intellectual, and academic adventure for me, Leonard. Thank you for a Moveable Feast.

Richard E. Bennett, Provo, Utah

When I heard of the death of Leonard Arrington, it was as though my own father had passed away. I say this deliberately because Leonard understood and nurtured my academic interests in ways my own parents never could have. And it was Leonard who steered me irretrievably towards a career in research and writing Mormon history. I gave up law school and a lucrative career because of him. I gave up a country because of him. I want to give up my littleness of mind and every prejudicial bone in my body because of him. I want to become the best possible historian I can be because of him. I want to share freely of what I learn because of him. And I want to be a better Latter-day Saint because of him.

I believe the Lord placed me in his path for a wise purpose. He taught me an enthusiasm for Mormon history none other could ever have. He instilled in me a love of research and discovery. He showed me the joy in the little things of life. There was nothing but good I gained from his life. Outside of my parents, he was my greatest teacher and mentor. He always made me feel absolutely special. In short, I

owe him my career, my present position, my love for Church history. I owe him everything professionally which I have ever accomplished and ever hope to become. I loved the man.

A Leonard Arrington comes along once in a very long time. I believe none of us, his students and admirers, will ever take his place. If we added up all our combined qualities and talents and expertise, we might at best equal half of what he alone had become. He did more than write history; he built people and in the process raised up a generation of beholden scholars.

Finally, by the sheer dint of his personality and prodigious efforts, Leonard made of Mormon history a worthy topic of academic study. He made it come alive and sing to a world-wide audience. He overcame the petty prejudices and criticisms of others with grace and cheerfulness and good writing. He stamped the force of his wonderful personality on the study of the past and validated and promoted it in a way none have equalled.

God bless his memory.

David J. Whittaker, Provo, Utah

I was first introduced to Leonard Arrington as an undergraduate history major at BYU in the mid-1960s. I was taking a class on Greek history from Russel Swensen. One morning Dr. Swensen began our class (as I remember we were discussing Greek colonization of the Mediterranean area) by telling us that we

should not be allowed to graduate from BYU if we had not read *Great Basin Kingdom*. I had great respect for Swensen, so I sought out a copy. I remember reading it as Linda labored to deliver our first child. It was a hard delivery, lasting almost three days, during which I could do little but hold her hand with one of my hands, while the other hand held a copy of *Great Basin Kingdom*. I remember sharing insightful paragraphs with her; but while she has little memory of this, I was profoundly transformed by both the experience of becoming a father and of being introduced to an exciting account of early Mormon history that broadened my understanding of the religion I had been raised in beyond just its religious aspects. I knew I would never quite be the same again after both of these experiences.

A number of years later, I corresponded with Leonard about a biographical sketch I had been asked to prepare for *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the publishing of *Great Basin Kingdom*. He was most generous but thought I should be concentrating on other, earlier LDS historians, who were, in his opinion more worthy of scholarly attention. My biographical sketch was published along with the first of several bibliographies I have gathered of his extensive publishing and speaking activities.

I first met him after his call to be Church Historian, by which time I

was an Institute director in the Church Educational System in Southern California. He was speaking at another LDS Institute of Religion, and I traveled there to hear his talk and to meet him. We only talked briefly, but he invited me to apply for one of the summer research fellowships his History Division was offering. I did and was able to spend the next three summers working with Leonard and his wonderful staff on a number of projects, both his and my own.

Leonard warmly welcomed my contributions, encouraged, and then gently critiqued my written work. He was a good mentor, suggesting different ways to approach research problems. He taught me the value of not just researching but of getting the results of my work into print. He always seemed to know where additional sources for my projects were, and he encouraged me to engage his staff with further inquiries. I have very fond memories of my discussions with members of his staff or other visiting researchers, and many of my closest friends in Mormon historical study come from these associations. Thus, whether directly or through the congenial setting of the Historical Department, my personal and professional life was richly blessed by Leonard.

I knew Grace Arrington briefly and have known Harriet much better. I have appreciated her great support of Leonard and her ability to

make anyone who comes to their home feel welcome.

Some time ago I was reading the poems of Ben Jonson, and was particularly drawn to a poem he wrote to Henrie Savile, a translator of the Roman historian Tacitus. It reminded me of Leonard:

We need a man that knowes the
severall graces
of historie, and how to apt their
places;
Where brevitie, where splendor,
and where height,
Where sweetnesse is requir'd,
and where weight;
We need a man, can speak of the
intents,
The counsell, actions, orders,
and events
Of state, and censure them: we
need his pen
Can write the things, the causes,
and the men.
But most we need his faith (and
all have you)
That dares nor write things false,
nor hide things true.¹

In September 1997 I sent a copy of this poem to Leonard, adding my feeling that these sentiments surely captured his own approach to Mormon history. His reply was gracious and kindly, only worrying that his forthcoming autobiography would be misunderstood. In later conversations I assured him that he was like the man Jonson celebrated.

We will continue to need such

people as those Jonson speaks of. For me, Leonard will continue to represent such an historian. Linda and I will miss him very much.

Brigham D. Madsen **Salt Lake City**

Leonard Arrington's passing has saddened the thousands of people who cherished him as the great Mormon and Utah historian that he was. To those of us who knew him personally, his absence from our midst is especially sharp.

I first came to know him when I joined the faculty of Utah State University in 1961 and have admired him ever since as a man of great humanity and genuine friendliness—and as the most industrious and productive Mormon historian of this century. His book *Great Basin Kingdom* will always be a classic. Leonard was a friend and a model for all of his colleagues to emulate. He will be missed.

Paul L. Anderson, Salt Lake City

I first met Leonard Arrington in June of 1972. I had just completed my architecture studies at Princeton and was driving back home to California when I made a stop-over in Salt Lake City. I visited the Church Historical Department, hoping to talk with someone about the possibility of doing research on the history of Mormon architecture. Leonard talked with me in his office,

¹*The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, edited by William B. Hunter, Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), 43.

encouraged my interest, and suggested that I apply for a summer research fellowship with the History Division, which he administered. I did as he suggested, received a grant for the summer of 1973, and changed the direction of my life. Another research grant from the Historical Department followed, then a full-time job working with Florence Jacobsen on the Church's historic sites and plans for a new Museum of Church History and Art.

Thus, throughout the late 1970s, I worked next door to Camelot. There was a feeling of enthusiasm and positive energy coming from the History Division that mirrored Leonard's cheerful and generous personality. The professional excitement was always blended with a sense of sincere devotion to the Church and the satisfaction that the hard work in process was helping to build the kingdom. There was a spirit of openness, sharing, comradery and good will that does not always exist in groups of scholars. It was a busy place with historians from many places dropping in from time to time to do research, discuss their projects, and see what others were up to. It was a great time.

Leonard taught by example how to be keenly attuned to the historical connections between past and present. Occasionally I sat in on the executive meetings of the Historical Department representing the Arts and Sites Division, along with the heads of the History Division and Library/Archives. Elder Joseph An-

derson, head of the department, had been secretary to various First Presidencies since the 1920s and was a walking compendium of history. As Leonard would report on the work in progress of his staff, occasionally something would strike a memory for Elder Anderson. He would lean back in his chair and say, "I remember when that happened. President George Albert Smith said to me. . . ." And Leonard would quickly pull out his notebook and start writing as fast as he could. He would leave those meetings beaming with delight.

Although my field of architectural history was on the fringes of what many would consider serious history, Leonard took an interest in my work, and often included Lavina and me in gatherings of historians over the years. I am grateful to have known him, to have been included in part of his large circle, and to have felt the warmth of his acceptance, encouragement, and friendship.

B. Delworth Gardner Provo, Utah

Leonard Arrington and I were colleagues at Utah State University from the time I arrived there in 1962 until he left in 1972. We also lived in the same Logan LDS ward after 1966, and we and our wives became close friends. At first, Leonard worked in the Department of Economics at USU, while I was across the campus in the Department of Agricultural Economics. The departments were merged in 1968 and

our new offices were separated by only a few feet.

I mention these institutional arrangements because for Leonard Arrington they were almost irrelevant. University departments, with narrow and artificial boundaries that discouraged intellectual discourse and exchange of views, were an annoyance to him. Officially, Leonard had degrees in economics from Idaho and North Carolina, but many would say that he worked his entire professional life as an historian. I am quite sure that Leonard Arrington would not be comfortable in being so classified. He was, in fact, the quintessential scholar in the broadest sense. His entire professional life was driven by one objective only: to ferret out the truth. He seized whatever disciplinary tools were available to him to do just that. And for those of us who continue to be shackled by the myopia of our disciplines, who can deny that his economics training was used to explicate history and that his history greatly enriched economics?

As we admire his life's scholarly work, unsurpassed in both quality and quantity, I believe that two personal traits contributed most. First, and I believe more important, he was intellectually honest to the very core of his being. He was incapable of slanting the truth as he saw it, no matter what the consequences were. That is why his work has such integrity and why it will stand as a beacon of scholarship forever. And second, he was a prodigious worker with un-

common stamina. Aside from his family and his faith, work was the most important element in his life. He did not need fishing, golf, and similar recreational activities that seem to be required by most of us mortals as a temporary respite from work. I am not aware of the details of the illness at the end of his life, but I know that through his sixties and seventies, his rate of work output hardly slowed. Every time I spoke with him over the years there were always new work projects that demanded his attention.

It seems so trite to say it, but it is true: we shall not see the likes of Leonard Arrington again.

Richard P. Howard
Gulf Breeze, Florida

My first meeting with Leonard Arrington occurred in 1970 at a meeting of the MHA in San Diego, California. I had gone there to receive a book award but came away with something much more lasting—a friendship with one who mentored me, and was generous benefactor and friend to more Church history scholars than can be precisely estimated.

Wherever, whenever, and however one came into contact with Leonard Arrington, the result was the pleasant conviction that here was a man without guile. He had no time or disposition to belittle others. I never once heard him put anybody else down. He always seemed to find something good in others, no matter what the context or issue. Per-

haps that was his richest gift—his inherent, sheer goodness. That sort of inner strength impelled Leonard Arrington to see the good in every human he ever met. If he had his own shadow side, as most people do, I never saw it. It was once said of Jesus of Nazareth, “he went about doing good.” In Leonard Arrington was this same simple, humble quality of being: he went about doing good, throughout his whole life.

Leonard Arrington’s phenomenal historiographical legacy has linked all of us to our Latter Day Saint roots in a broader cultural perspective than had previously been experienced. His works will continue to open us to a keener awareness of the larger cultural milieu which is so much a part of modern Latter Day Saintism. This, generally, points to what may well be his most vital contribution to the historical consciousness of students of the Restoration movement, both within and beyond its boundaries. By the force of his large intellect and his boundless faith in others, he generated a breed of professional historians committed to balancing faith and history. This has led to broadened historical perceptions and deeper faith within those involved both in writing and in reading the genre known as the New Mormon History.

I know of no scholar of Mormonism who does not gladly confess a debt to Leonard Arrington. The historical community has sustained an immeasurable loss in the passing of

this great and good man, this brilliant and humble scholar, this friend and brother to us all.

**Lawrence Coates
Rexburg, Idaho**

Leonard always touched me deeply every time I saw him, because he treated me with the same respect as if I were an outstanding scholar, an eminent political figure, or a prominent person. I recall him staying with our young family in our humble home in Flagstaff, Arizona, when he came to give an honors lecture to the faculty and students at Northern Arizona University. He treated every member of the family with respect. He chatted with each person, including my mother and Grace Bryant, our Native American foster placement daughter. During this very busy trip, he took time to offer me some encouraging suggestions that inspired me to finish researching and writing my dissertation.

After he became Church Historian, he continued encouraging me to research and write on Mormons and Indians. I recall with fondness his willingness to be helpful when he made it easier for historians to have access to the rich archival documents in the historical department. One summer, he made it possible to spend my time doing research on a fellowship. I enjoyed many hours researching and engaging in conversations with him and others, while I investigated the Mormons and the Ghost Dance. I deeply appreciate his leadership in bringing many

scholars together during this period. He generously shared his discoveries with me to make my work better.

One highlight occurred after the MHA conference in Oxford in 1987, when Fred Buchanan guided forty-six people on a wonderful tour of Scotland. Leonard and Harriet shared in visiting the remarkable sites in Dumfries, Ayr, Tarbet, Edinburgh, Glasgow, York, and London. Leonard always joined in singing the songs of Robert Burns and asking inquisitive questions at each historic location. During the last MHA conference in Washington D.C., he chose to walk beside me and share his insights on several topics, while we toured the National Archives and the Library of Congress. Every MHA conference, he was always the same. When he saw my wife and me, he would enthusiastically blurt out, "Larry and Colleen, it's so good to see you." Leonard Arrington will not only be greatly missed by his family but also by many other people upon whose lives he made such an outstanding impact.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich
Cambridge, Massachusetts

[Note: I had agreed to speak when Leonard presented his papers to Utah State, but my mother broke her hip, and I had to return unexpectedly to New Hampshire to care for her, leaving behind this statement written out when otherwise it would have been notes. I hadn't known he was ill; but a few days be-

fore he died I decided to treat myself by reading *Adventures of a Church Historian*. I couldn't put it down. I am so grateful for his life and work. —LTU]

Recently I saw a bumper sticker that said: "Make history. Be a historian." I doubt that a historian wrote that slogan. We aren't clever enough to invent one liners. Historians specialize in writing long articles and heavy books—with footnotes. But even if it was written by a public relations man, that bumper sticker is correct. Historians do make history. Not all historians are as good at it as Leonard Arrington, however. Leonard has made history in all the ways it is possible to do so.

In hundreds of articles and books—never ponderous though filled with footnotes—he has rewritten the history of Mormonism and of the Intermountain West. His most famous work, *Great Basin Kingdom*, is a classic in U.S. history, still read everywhere that western history is taught. His two-volume history of Idaho fills a gaping hole in western history and may even succeed in putting Leonard's home state and mine on the map. For that I am grateful. I almost came to blows once with a colleague who insisted on calling me a Midwesterner; people on the East Coast have a disconcerting habit of confusing Idaho with Iowa.

Leonard has written big books and little books, tall books and short books, and perhaps even a few tall tales, though always with footnotes.

His productivity is nothing short of astonishing. In the time it takes most of us to shuffle our note cards, he turns out whole articles. If I am not mistaken, he is hard at work on two new books, one of them in collaboration with Harriet, and is seeing a third through the press. I am worried about that third book, a study of Mormon intellectuals. I am afraid it will leave out one of the premier intellectuals of our era—Leonard Arrington.

Leonard's history making goes far beyond his own productions. He is responsible for stimulating and in some cases literally commissioning and directing a whole generation of scholarship. He is the father—the genial, nurturing, and inspiring father—of contemporary Mormon history. I use the work term “Mormon history” to include both those scholars, LDS and non-LDS, who write about Mormons and those Mormons who write history of any kind. I fall into the latter category. As a Latter-day Saint, I claim Leonard Arrington as a mentor even though my own field is outside Mormon history. I haven't forgotten his kind and encouraging words to me twenty years ago as I was contemplating entering a Ph.D. program in history. Although I live far from Utah, he has continued to encourage and inspire me with notes, letters, and sometimes even small requests for help.

Leonard's official and unofficial labors as Church Historian have made history in a third way.

Through his support of responsible scholarship, LDS history has leaped off the bookshelves and into our lives, stimulating creative thinking and sometimes creative controversy in every corner of Latter-day Saint life. Leonard probably didn't anticipate becoming a public figure. I'm sure he sometimes despairs at the rancorous debates over the New Mormon History, but again and again he has used his understanding of human behavior and human nature, an understanding derived from his own rich life as well as from his deep knowledge of the Latter-day Saint past, to calm the waters and to create meaning out of our confusions. It is Leonard's own immersion in the spiritual and intellectual life of contemporary Mormonism that gives his history such depth and complexity. He has made history while making history.

And now, Leonard is about to make history in another way. As a beginning scholar I learned the importance of an old saying: no source, no history. History is constructed out of the fragments of the past. Without letters, diaries, receipts, and manuscripts of all sorts, including the drafts of articles and speeches with their cross-hatching of blue pencil, history could not be written. Leonard Arrington's papers, including his personal diaries and letters, record much of the history of twentieth-century Mormonism. His research files will continue to generate new scholarship for years to come. Not even he knows

what future scholars will find there. Recently I have been working with the curious little artifacts that have come to the Massachusetts Historical Society over the years in boxes and papers of famous men. Now I wonder whether Leonard Arrington's papers might contain a bow-tie or two or perhaps an engraved napkin from a wedding.

Of one thing I am sure. Whatever the Arrington family sends to Logan will be lovingly cared for to the last paper clip. It is appropriate that his papers return to the institution where he began his career as a historian and that continues to honor his legacy through continuing scholarship, teaching, and publications in western history and through the Evans Prize in biography. Recently Leonard and I found ourselves in Special Collections at USU's Merrill Library on the same afternoon. He kindly interpreted the mysteries of a late nineteenth-century copy book for me. I like to think of some future historian—maybe a hundred years down the road—explaining to a novice scholar a curious device called a typewriter and something smudgy and awkward which people way back in the twentieth century called carbon paper. Technology will change, but as long as people care about history, the words Leonard wrote will continue to reflect light and truth. My colleague, Cathy Frierson, who teaches Russian history, likes to tell beginning history students how Nikita Krushchev denounced historians as dangers to

the state. Historians truly are dangerous people, not only in totalitarian states but also in democracies. They challenge rigid or complacent cultures by the things they write, by the countercurrents of thought they inspire, and by their willingness to take positions on the important issues of their own times. But perhaps the most dangerous and marvelous thing historians and archivists do is to stuff the remnants of their own and others' lives into filing cabinets and boxes. I don't know about Leonard, but most historians I know hate to clean their attics and offices. They fill shoe boxes and the top shelves of their closets with old records and stuff file folders into the caverns under their beds and desks. They know that today's trash makes tomorrow's history.

Nikita Krushchev and a long list of tyrants before and since knew that, too. As long as there are sources—nagging little reminders of how things once were—it is difficult to rewrite the past in the service of authoritarianism. By saving things, Leonard Arrington has ensured that future generations will be able to make history and, in making history, have some small part in saving themselves.

**Lola Van Wagenen
Charlotte, Vermont**

This is my fondest memory of Leonard Arrington. One of the first graduate school papers I wrote to fulfill a historiography requirement at New York University was on the

emergence of the New Mormon History; Leonard's work was, of course, central to that essay. That research in turn led me to Mormon women's history and, from there, directly to my dissertation on the relationship between Mormon suffragists and their non-Mormon sisters in the East from 1870 to 1896.

Traveling to Utah for the first time as an aspiring historian, I called Leonard. I was looking for support and reassurance; and for me, Leonard was the place to begin. I was anxious but emboldened by everything that I had heard of Leonard, the man. And on the phone he greeted me with a cheerful "Come on over," gave me his address, and told me I would know his home by the rooster in the front yard. Now being a novice in the field of Mormon history, I had not known about the eight-foot-tall rooster that identified the Arrington home, but spotting its presence was reassuring. Clearly in addition to that fine mind, the man had a wonderful sense of play.

Harriet answered the door and warmly led me into the living room. Shortly afterward, Leonard arrived. After listening to me for about five what felt like intense minutes, he got up. Said he'd be back in a minute, and returned shortly with a paper in his hand. For the next ten minutes Leonard sat in his living room, on the edge of what I remember as a pastel pink sofa, holding his head high, and sang Mormon women suffrage songs to me—one after an-

other. I was hooked. As I left his home he said: "You know what a dissertation is, don't you, Lola? It's what your committee will accept." While it took another four years to fully appreciate the wisdom of that comment, the impact of his singing was immediate. Leonard sent me on my way with the warm embrace of those songs, a sense of inclusion, and the memory of a remarkable kindness that helped sustain me through the long haul of writing a dissertation. Equally important, that process helped me to redefine and embrace my Mormon heritage. What more could I have received from any historian?

**Patricia Nelson Limerick
Boulder, Colorado**

Until I read *The Mormon Experience* soon after its publication in 1979, I had never known that a footnote could provide the foundation for fanhood. In the chapter on Mormons and Native Americans, in a passage on the waxing and waning of the Mormon commitment to the Lamanites, footnote 12 says this: "The authors, both raised in southern Idaho, can attest to the fact that there, reservation Indians were often treated with the same disdain by both Mormon and non-Mormon whites." When I read that forthright and unflinching footnote, the authors of *The Mormon Experience*, Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, acquired a lifetime fan.

The more I read of and learned about Professor Arrington, the more my admiration grew. His serv-

ice as Church Historian gave a living demonstration of integrity and faith. His 1969 article on federal expenditures in the West during the New Deal was the most effective—because it was also the most tranquil and the most evidence-based—statement ever made on the matter of the region's disproportionate dependence on federal money. Every word he wrote provided the model for how to be at once personally engaged and fair in historical scholarship.

So it was a memorable experience, at the Billings meeting of the Western History Association, to come around a corner in the hotel to find a person wearing a name-tag that said "Leonard Arrington." I am pretty sure I babbled. As all fans know, figuring out what you wanted to say to someone you admire is a process that does not begin until at least an hour after your encounter with that party. I was fortunate to have several later occasions when I was in a better state of preparation. There was, for instance, a conference in 1992 at Utah State where I had the chance to say, in front of the audience and Professor Arrington, how much I and many other Western historians had gained from his writings. Even better, there was the opportunity offered by the Tanner Lecture at the Mormon History Association. Professor Arrington's work played an unmistakable role in my understanding of the issues raised by Mormon ethnicity; and it was a comfort to see him, in the

front row, off to my right, as I began to speak. But one moment in mid-speech shines in my memory. I was delivering a passage in which I celebrated the richness of Mormon fiction and poetry, and I then presumed to say that, in matters of reinforcing and strengthening Mormon identity, it struck me as a better idea to forswear other ways of requiring orthodoxy and, instead, to have young members and recent converts read this moving and memorable literature. At this moment, a little pocket of spontaneous applause erupted in the audience. It was an unforgettably happy moment to discover that the applause came from that seat in the right front row.

Seven years ago, I published an article in the *Journal of American History* on the ways in which college-level American history textbooks underrepresent or misrepresent the American West. I liked this article quite a bit; I thought I had made an effective case for having the "mainstreamers" pay more attention to this region; and for some reason, I expected that some Western historians, who had not been entirely sympathetic to my undertakings in the field, would read this article and then write me letters in which they would say, "So that's what you are up to. Good job!" None of those expected letters arrived. But what I did get was a letter from Leonard Arrington applauding the case that my article made for the significance of Western history. At that point, I

knew I had been to the mountaintop and did not ask anything more from the mailman.

As everyone knows, Leonard Arrington's warmth, his heartiness, his courage, his energetic research, and his kindness to younger scholars (in truth, scholars of all ages!) leave a legacy nothing will erase. Though this is a phrase not often used by secular historians like myself, I was blessed to have known him.

Barbara Vance, Provo, Utah

Leonard Arrington was my friend, though I never met him in person. We were faculty colleagues at BYU, he a historian and I a psychologist. But I've been a history buff since childhood.

When Leonard spoke on campus, I was in the audience. He made history live for me. I had had a high school history teacher and a college history teacher who had taught history as a dead, pedantic, dull sort of thing. I refused to believe any such thing. I believed history was vibrant and interesting and "here and now." Apparently Leonard did, too.

Leonard was an absolutely superb scholar. He had a way of taking history seriously but not himself. Every time I saw Leonard, even through the media, I saw a merry twinkle in his eye, a tongue-clear-through-his-cheek sort of expression.

Somehow he managed to thread his way through the minefield of Church history unscathed. Yet I feel sure there were plenty of cuts and bruises. He just didn't show them.

Many myths have grown through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries regarding Church history. Too much Church history isn't Church history at all. Leonard knew the difference well and wrote and spoke *real* history. History is not something someone makes up to help people feel good. There is plenty in Church history to feel good about. But it is *genuine* history, not history that is created to please the masses both in and out of the Church.

Now Leonard has passed to the other side of the veil. That's where the *real* Church history is known. I wonder if there are people on the other side who are feeling darned uncomfortable now that Leonard is there to help clean up their act.

Roto Pekka, Orivesi, Finland

I do not whom to send condolences to, but I recognize at least one: all sincere students of Mormon history. A bright beacon has been switched off.

Mary Lythgoe Bradford Arlington, Virginia

Leonard Arrington symbolizes for me the quintessential Mormon/LDS personality. He was genial and generous, free-spirited yet faithful, a bridge-builder, a family man, a dedicated teacher/scholar who took great delight in the accomplishments of others. Though he was a skilled administrator and negotiator, he was not a proud man given to power plays. He wrote about powerful men, but he saw priesthood as a service organization.

He used his power to improve his world. I don't believe he ever did an unworthy deed or entertained an unworthy thought.

I first met Leonard in 1962 at an academic dinner when my economist husband was teaching at BYU. Charles had introduced me to *Great Basin Kingdom*, and we were thrilled to sit with its author. A few days later, we received a copy of "The Pride of Prejudice," his monograph on Topaz, Utah's Japanese internment camp. He wrote on the frontispiece: "To Dr. and Mrs. Charles H. Bradford with admiration and respect—and in memory of a pleasant dinner together." This was the first of many notes and dinners. I don't think I ever published anything that failed to elicit an encouraging note from him. He has written twenty books. I think his notes and letters to others would fill another two hundred volumes.

The Mormon History Association and *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* have been powerful, indeed, saving influences in my life. He helped found them both. When he became Church Historian, he urged me to apply for a research fellowship on the lives of Mormon women pioneers. Though I failed to follow up then, he did whet my appetite for women's studies. With his advice, I published articles and books on the subject.

During my editorship of *Dialogue* during the volatile seventies and eighties, he was always there to advise and comfort. When I began re-

search on Lowell Bennion, he was the first expert I interviewed. After acknowledging his own debt to Lowell, he helped me formulate a blueprint for my book. When it was honored by MHA and the Evans Award, he and Harriet were there taking photos and cheering me on.

Not only was Leonard's office door always open to me, but his home welcomed me and mine. I knew gracious Grace, and I am close to James and Lisa. I am also close to Annette Rogers and her mother Harriet. Annette and I are proud that we were the first to come up with the inspired idea that Harriet and Leonard would make a great couple.

The world will seem bleak without Leonard. I thank God for his books and for the shining example of his life.

Janet Burton Seegmiller Cedar City, Utah

Leonard Arrington. He was both a mentor and cheerleader in my naive efforts to write Mormon biography beginning in the 1970s. I realize now that he must have treated everyone as an equal; but for all these years, I have marveled that he accepted me, an unknown writer, into his circle of Mormon historians. He encouraged me; he responded to requests and shared research; he read my manuscript, gave honest criticism, and wrote a note to say "well done."

The first time I presented a paper at MHA was in St. George. I was sur-

prised and humbled to see him in the audience. Then the room filled up; when there were no more chairs, he gave up his seat and sat on the floor to hear the session. What a gentleman!

Last May, he signed up for the MHA pre-session tour of the National Archives and Library of Congress. While some taxied across town from the Marriott, Leonard chose to accompany the group that took the metro, an option which required quite a bit of walking to and from the stations. I remember thinking how hard it was to keep up with this eighty-year-old man throughout the day. He was eager to see behind the scenes at the archives and interested in the words of former Governor Carlin, the national archivist, who knew far less than he did about history and research. Leonard was the consummate learner and the kindest of friends. I will truly miss him.

Susan Sessions Rugh, Provo, Utah

Unlike many others whose letters here will pay tribute to Leonard Arrington, I cannot claim to have known him well. I write because his legacy has affected my life and my work in unpredictable ways. Indeed, I can trace my choice to tread the historian's path to his encouragement, not only of my work, but also of the work of others whose footsteps I follow.

To me, Leonard's primary legacy is the belief that one can be a historian of the Church without compromising one's integrity. His life's

course demonstrates that such a belief does not come without price; by paying the price he has earned our enduring respect. I know from my own experience as a historian that such a belief is upheld not only in such day-to-day decisions as how to interpret evidence but in the mid-night struggles of wrestling with the contradictions of history and faith. Leonard showed us what it meant to keep the faith—both as a Latter-day Saint and as a member of the historical profession.

An enduring legacy was his encouragement of the writing of women's history. At his urging, a generation of Mormon women's historians undertook the task of including women in our great story. Because of Leonard's encouragement, I am the scholarly daughter of women like Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Carol Cornwall Madsen, and Jill Mulvay Derr who have founded the field. As I train students of Mormon women's history, I pass along to them not only the skills of a historian, but the attitude that we cannot fully understand our past without the history of women.

Leonard also left me a legacy beyond the boundaries of Mormon, Utah, or western history. The reputation he earned through his work means that Mormon scholars like me can be taken seriously by the broader profession. Finally, as a historian of rural America, I still turn to that classic in American history, *Great Basin Kingdom*, to understand

farming and rural communities in the nineteenth-century West.

Let us now turn from reflection to honor his legacy. May we uphold his belief in the possibility of pursuing our profession while standing for our faith.

Michael W. Homer, Salt Lake City

I first met Leonard in 1974 shortly after returning from a mission to northern Italy. I knew that Leonard had lived in Italy and that he had studied the first Italian converts to Mormonism. Leonard was already an icon—especially to a young college student—and I was therefore surprised that he was so generous and willing to share his research on the LDS Church's experience in Italy with someone he had barely met. He gave me all of his original research notes on the subject and asked merely that I return them to him after I had studied them and copied them. He also summarized for me the current state of scholarship in the area and told me where I could find additional information on the subject. His research notes remain the foundation for everything I have written about the Mormon experience in Italy.

**Edwina Jo Snow
Honolulu, Hawaii**

Leonard sought me out and encouraged me each time I made a contribution to Mormon history, however modest or infrequent my efforts. He congratulated me on my 1972 master's thesis about the image of the Mormons in travel ac-

counts of the 1850s and 1860s. He thrilled me when he cited my thesis in a 1974 article. For fourteen years, that footnote was a beacon reminding me of the writing I wanted to do but kept postponing. When I finally published an article in 1986, Leonard again cheered me on. As he continued to keep track of me along with the hundreds of others he inspired to write history, I was awed by his generosity and love, as well as his excellent scholarship. Thank you, Leonard.

**Claudia L. Bushman
New York City**

Leonard has been the largest and most memorable Church figure, outside of the basic hierarchy, of our time. He leaves an empty place against the sky. My memories of him are many, but two scenes stand out. One is of the earnest 4-H boy putting messages into his sacks of Idaho potatoes during the Great Depression, telling the buyers the tiny pittance that farmers were getting for their crops. Even then he had a sense of the world and the way things worked. He reached out tell others how it was.

The second is one night when he was staying with us in Boston. There had been a party, a speech, lots of talking with lots of people. Leonard had retired, but he emerged an hour later, barefooted and in his pajamas and robe. He was recording events in his journal and wanted to get some of the names straight.

This is great success to me, to live

a full life and to leave a full record of it.

J. R. Kearl, Provo, Utah

I first met Leonard when I was an undergraduate econ major at Utah State. At the time, the Department of Economics had the good sense to require that all of its graduate students take a course in economic history. This was a requirement, essentially, that everyone take a class from Leonard.

While it wasn't exactly required of undergraduates, it simply wasn't acceptable to leave USU without taking courses from the dominant influences on campus at the time, and Leonard was, in his own gentle way, a dominant influence. Hence, I found myself in Leonard's class in my senior year. In retrospect, this seems like a more sensible requirement than it did a few weeks later. The reason was simple: Leonard actually expected economics students to write! Moreover, he expected them to write carefully and thoughtfully. I don't remember exactly what the writing entailed at this point in my life, but I remember well the fear with which I approached his class because it wasn't just that we had to write well, we also had to write what seemed, at the time and still dimly flickers in my memory, as *a lot*. I confess that I don't remember much of the substance of the class; but I do remember the class as one of those "disciplining moments" that every student ought to face. I didn't emerge from the class an economic historian; I did leave it with some-

what better writing skills and, far more importantly, the beginning of a life-long friendship, one of literally thousands that Leonard must have developed with his students.

A decade later, Leonard had enough confidence in this former student to allow access to Church financial records for a long-term study that Clayne Pope and I undertook of income and wealth distribution and mobility in nineteenth-century Utah. That confidence allowed us to create a unique data set and to examine, from an equally unique perspective, important aspects of the lives of individuals as they migrated to Utah.

Leonard's interest in both former students and the work they were doing led, at every crossing of paths, to questions about findings, conclusions, extensions, work-in-progress (regrettably more than there should be). In short, a conversation about economics begun in a classroom in Logan, extended across time and place in ways that enriched my life and allowed me to see Leonard's passion for scholarship, for students, for the life of the mind, and for life unfold. In this life-long passion, and in his lifelong optimism, and his lifelong commitment to writing and scholarship, Leonard was a wonderful role model.

Grant Underwood, Laie, Hawaii

My earliest recollection of Leonard Arrington was seeing the name attached to a series of quotations on a handout received in my

BYU religion class. The snippets were taken from Leonard's *BYU Studies* article "An Economic Interpretation of the 'Word of Wisdom,'" and the teacher endeavored to use them as an example of the spiritually "dangerous" kind of Mormon history that was to be avoided. It was my first experience with pious finger-pointing. Several years and a good deal of reading later, I had the privilege of taking a summer class from Leonard. By then I had come to a very different "reading" of the man than my religion teacher, but now the opportunity was mine to encounter the great historian "up close and personal." It was a tremendous experience. His candor both intellectually and spiritually was striking. It deeply impressed my young mind how easily Leonard could discuss any aspect of LDS history with an openness and balance that freely acknowledged the warts and celebrated the wonder of that heritage. Neither iconoclast nor sentimentalist, Leonard Arrington would thereafter loom large as a personal role model for the kind of Mormon historian I hoped to become.

Balance and competence, though, are not necessarily accompanied by personableness or warmth. That, of course, is precisely where Leonard excelled and why so many of us are drawn to draft these expressions of love and appreciation for him. As he did with literally hundreds of others, he noticed and took a personal interest in me. The fact that I had neither pioneer heri-

tage nor a Utah domicile did nothing to deter that support. I remember receiving an Arrington "atta boy" letter after one of my early MHA presentations that I cherish to this day. Even though our paths would cross only at academic conferences like the annual MHA meeting, he would always take time to get an update on my activities. It never ceased to amaze me how much effort he put into mentoring young colleagues. On one occasion, he asked me if an article I had submitted to a prominent history journal had been accepted. How did he know about that? I wondered. The positive outcome was explained when he volunteered, "Well, I told them it was an excellent article and they should definitely publish it." Even behind the scenes, Leonard was always working to pave for others the road he essentially had to survey and blaze on his own.

They say a man can be measured by the companions he keeps. If so, the vast array of wonderful friends of Mormon history with whom Leonard associated over the years testifies loudly, as a second witness along with his written words, of genuine greatness. Central to that group is his wonderful family. While distance and circumstance prevented me from personally knowing all but a few, the ones I know are outstanding. Above all, I wish to express my love and admiration for Harriet, an extraordinary woman in her own right and a worthy companion to this great man. "Equally

yoked together” is the phrase that for me sums up their relationship.

Like those exceptional human beings described in the old *Reader's Digest* section, “My Most Unforgettable Character,” Leonard Arrington inspires and lifts in a way that only true greatness can effect. To the many other ardent affirmations, I add mine: Leonard, you will not be forgotten.

Devery Anderson, Salt Lake City

I first became familiar with the name Leonard Arrington as a student of Church history in 1983. As my curious nature got the best of me, I became troubled when I learned that there were skeletons in our Mormon closet. Anti-Mormon critics were using our history against us in a way to shake the faith of faithful Mormons.

As I looked for answers myself, it didn't take long for me to find in a footnote, a reference to Leonard Arrington's writings. I took comfort that as a professional historian, he had seen and studied, and pondered and examined much more than the critics. Yet he stayed faithful—out of a real conviction of the truthfulness of the gospel. And so I learned that the Mormon past was not something to be afraid of.

In 1992 I asked Leonard to speak at a study group that I sponsored in Longview, Washington. He thanked me for the offer but had to decline due to the pressures of wrapping up his two-volume *History of Idaho* and his biography of Charles Redd. Molly Bennion also asked him to

speak at the 1992 Northwest Sunstone Symposium. He had to decline for the same reasons but told her he could make it the following year. True to his word, in 1993, he was the keynote speaker, to the delight of all present.

It was at that symposium that I finally met Leonard in person. I remember how he was thronged by those present who wanted him to answer their questions, and he was pleased to do so. Almost without exception, people asked him for the truth about something that had happened in Church history that had troubled them. I asked him some questions myself. And since my move to Utah in 1994, I have had several opportunities to see and speak with Leonard at Sunstone or book signings. As I look at my signed copies of Leonard's books in my library, I am saddened now to contemplate the books that will never be written but rejoice in how prolific he was.

It takes a special person to have a major influence for good in the lives of people he or she hardly knows. That is the case with me and Leonard Arrington. Because of him, and those associated with him when he was Church Historian, I have developed an interest in making some contributions myself. Since 1995, I have been working on a biography of Willard Richards. As a college student at the time, I reread Leonard's biography of Brigham Young to get some tips on how a scholarly, balanced, and thorough biography

should be written. His personal essay published in Phillip Barlow's, *A Thoughtful Faith* also helped me tremendously at a time when faith was lacking in me. His recently published memoirs, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, taught me the importance of faithfully enduring to the end despite all of the grief that those who raised their hand to sustain you can cause. That saga alone taught me more about honesty and integrity than anything else I had ever read.

Leonard Arrington's death has saddened and touched countless Mormons and non-Mormons and truly ends an era that can never be repeated. But perhaps Leonard now has access to the primary sources he once lacked but that any Mormon historian would treasure. When a troubled friend of mine once asked Leonard how Joseph Smith could have justified marrying the wives of close friends in polyandrous unions, Leonard responded, "I don't know, but when I get to the other side, I'm going to ask him." It seems humorous to contemplate on one level, but when we think of the thorough historian Leonard was, it seems almost probable.

George D. Smith, San Francisco

Leonard seemed to know his many friends and associates better than we knew him. He was the center of Mormon history when it began to emerge from an ecclesiastical inner sanctum up toward a realm of professional examination and inquiry. Before 1972, when Leonard

became Church Historian and the archives were still largely inaccessible, uncertainties about Church history had been even more difficult to resolve. In this period of doctrinal adumbrations, I found *Dialogue* illuminating (I participated in an article on the New York Metropolitan Museum recovery of Book of Abraham papyri), read through the seven-volume *History of the Church*, especially to find the roots of the Mormon "Negro problem" (biblical justifications for slavery and Missouri politics), and also read some of Jerald Tanner's startling examinations of Church history before Arrington (B.A.).

In many ways, Leonard was the Tanners' rival observer of history, yet perhaps his research encouraged their initiatives. In a curious symbiosis, each discovery of previously unavailable records further stimulated the efforts of those seeking to pierce the mysterious veil of century-old doctrines and practices begun on various American frontiers. The historical discoveries demystified or shed light on the rituals and beliefs that Church members celebrated each Sunday. Leonard sought to understand it all, but he presented his historical revelations in a measured way that would not "disturb the testimonies" of the membership at large. This balancing act led to a dichotomy expressed by some of his associates as "the intellectuals versus the folk"—those who knew what LDS history was really about vs. those who might have

been disillusioned to see the mysteries disclosed all at once. The gradualism embodied in Leonard's program was represented by the phrase "milk before meat."

When Signature Books was incorporated in 1981, Leonard co-wrote, with Davis Bitton, our first book, *Saints Without Halos*. Removed as Church Historian and then installed as director of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute at BYU, Leonard, with Davis, produced in this volume for Signature a history of seventeen of "the common people" from the beginnings of Mormonism through the twentieth century, with "salty, straight talk pulled right from the journals" (Jerry Johnson, *Deseret News*, 23 December 1981, p. 8). They portrayed Edwin and Mary Woolley, both raised as Quakers, hearing the revelation on plural marriage read for the first time in their Nauvoo home in October 1843, and agreeing that Edwin should accept it and marry both Louisa Gordon, a convert, and Ellen Wilding, a servant in the Woolley home (p. 54). On the same subject, which is today still generally ignored in official Church history, the authors showed Franklin D. Richards with five wives agreeing to live the Levirate law by marrying his uncle's four widows plus two more wives (p. 109). These were real people making difficult decisions under less than ideal conditions. This work represented Leonard's way of gently advising us not to expect immaculate people with infallible ideas.

Some years ago, Leonard spoke to a gathering at my home in San Francisco and was asked whether there were any more secret documents to be discovered in Church archives. He suggested that everything material was "out." To the sharpened question, whether he as Church Historian was ever denied access to any letter or journal in the historical records, he affirmed that he had been given anything he wanted. Perhaps sensing our incredulity at such an unqualified answer, Leonard added with a perfectly straight face that some of his requests had taken longer to fulfill than others and that he was still waiting for some long-sought records. We cannot forget the legacy of his good humor.

Now that Leonard is no longer here, we are left with his moderate example of how to deal with intractable issues. We will remember his research, and his underlying commitment to honesty, expressed in a statement at the Mormon History Association: "God does not need our lies."

Kenneth W. Godfrey, Logan, Utah

Leonard J. Arrington was a scholar's scholar. He spent his academic life researching, writing, and teaching at Utah State University, Brigham Young University, the University of California at Los Angeles, and the University of Genova, except for a ten-year stint as LDS Church Historian.

While many scholars are remote, protective of their research, jealous

of possible rivals, and difficult to approach, Leonard, comfortable with himself, wanted to help everyone. Even after he was famous he coauthored articles with young scholars who needed a boost, shared royalties with those who assisted him with books and articles, willingly provided access to source materials he had uncovered, wrote letters of encouragement, and went through life unaffected by his own exceptional abilities. He was gregarious, energetic, quick to learn, and a man who never experienced writer's block.

Many months ago, Jill Mulvay Derr, Mormon History Association president, asked Audrey and me to serve as cochairs of the program committee for the 1999 MHA annual convention. Leonard J. Arrington's was the first proposal we received after the call for papers went out. It arrived, handwritten, weeks before any others. Though he was considered by everyone as the dean of historians of Mormonism, the author of two dozen books, and hundreds of articles, and one of the founders of the association itself, he asked that we consider allowing him the privilege of presenting a paper and promised us that it would plow new ground, represent good scholarship, and be a worthy contribution to LDS history. More than eighty years old, a nationally acclaimed writer, expert on the American West and the Mormons, Leonard, ever the gracious gentleman, still possessed an innate good-

ness. Growing up in a fine family on a Twin Falls farm must have catalyzed a security, a wholesome confidence, and a genuine love of people, even those with whom he disagreed.

My experiences with Leonard began the fall of 1951 when I became a student at Utah State University. Fresh from the farm myself, I found studying economics with a teacher my own height both stimulating and provocative. Arrington's Econ 51 was my favorite class the initial quarter of my college experience. While matriculating from Utah State, I encountered *Great Basin Kingdom* and found myself in a new, different, sometimes disturbing kind of Mormon history. Joseph Fielding Smith's *Essentials in Church History*, William E. Berrett's *The Restored Church* and Carter E. Grant's *The Kingdom of God Restored* had, before then, constituted my main historical menu, and it was exciting to see in print something I had suspected—that Mormons were real people, not always perfect, who sometimes made unwise decisions, and whose economic policies did not always succeed. Leonard's prose seemed to mirror the sometimes flawed Mormon community that nurtured me to manhood.

Sixteen years passed after I began studying at Utah State, and I delivered a paper titled "The Road to Carthage Led West," at the Mormon History Association meetings held in Logan, Utah, the spring of 1967. The commentator on my paper, a well-respected major historian of

the Mormon past, had not left me unblemished when he finished his critique of my first scholarly effort. Leonard came up after the session, introduced himself (something he did not need to do), and told me he had enjoyed my presentation, had learned something, and said that my paper was publishable. His kindness and encouragement helped provide me with enough courage to submit the manuscript to *BYU Studies* where it soon appeared. Leonard was like that, encouraging to everyone who had an interest in the Mormon past.

While living in California and Arizona, I met Leonard at MHA conferences. He always spoke, knew my name, and asked about the topics I was researching. In Tucson, Arizona, in 1970 I participated on a panel with him discussing the future of Mormon history, which seemed terribly bright back then.

I was living in Ogden when newspapers and television news shows announced his appointment as Church Historian. Like most historians, I was pleased. It came as a shock, a few evenings later, when Associate Commissioner of Church Education, Joe J. Christensen called me and said that Alvin R. Dyer was going to telephone and talk with me about working for the Church's Historical Department. I met Elder Dyer and was interviewed in the shower of an Ogden, Utah, stake center and offered the position of director of Administrative Services. Two days later I met with Dyer, Leonard, Earl Olsen, and Don

Schmidt. After the meeting, Leonard talked with me, said that he was confident I could do the job, but also told me he would understand if I declined the offer (which I did). Again I believed I was chatting with a real gentleman.

Since 1972 I have been with Leonard many times. He stayed in our Pennsylvania home, traveled with me, and spoke as we celebrated the centennial of the Kane Chapel in Kane, Pennsylvania. Since then there have been handwritten notes after articles I authored were published, even a few regarding the weekly newspaper column I write. Always he could find something complimentary to say about what I had composed. Leonard's star of humanity shone even more brightly than his extraordinary scholarship.

I serve on the Leonard J. Arrington Foundation board. We have worked to raise money to process Leonard's papers, catalog his vast library recently donated to Utah State University, and secure scholars to deliver an annual lecture devoted to some aspect of Mormon history that also serves to honor Leonard. Working with us, Leonard, was cooperative and jovial. He seemed at peace with who he was and what he had accomplished.

Educated at a time when historians believed in objectivity and that the truth could be discovered, Leonard, while many of his peers departed from their faith, left life with his still intact. He believed Joseph Smith was God's prophet and re-

vered those who succeeded Mormonism's initial leader. While others became bitter, Leonard remained positive, upbeat, and faithful. I hope when I exit from this life I do so with as much hope and good nature as did he. While he was a scholar's scholar, a prolific writer, and a fine teacher, it was his humanity that I cherish the most. With his passing, I believe the world is darker than it was before.

Lynne Watkins Jorgensen
Salt Lake City

The last half of the twentieth century has been a time when real heroes have been difficult to identify and to keep. Yet long before I met Leonard J. Arrington, he became one of my heroes, a role he has filled at various levels from the first time I learned his name. In the early 1960s, I was a young wife and mother living in Northern California, happy with my situation and secretly enamored with Mormon history. I was overwhelmed when I first encountered Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints*. The book was soon dog-eared and worn. It was a new and fascinating look at the Church I loved and the history I revered.

After our children were grown and Lee retired in 1980 from NASA, we returned to Utah where I began working with LDS records as a consultant in the Family History Library and began working on an M.A. in history from BYU. It was then that I

made the first tentative effort at publishing on history and genealogy. When the *Ensign* published "Planning a Roots Vacation," the first response after my mother's was a two-line letter from Leonard J. Arrington complimenting me on my "splendid article." I was in seventh heaven and eager to become a real part of the historical community.

MHA was the door through which I and many other middle-aged "wannabes" were able to participate with the professional Mormon historians we admired. Attending MHA conferences allowed me to become closely involved with Leonard, who had been my long-distance hero for so many years. Along with others, I became an actual recipient of his encouragement and kindness. He treated me with courtesy and respect. I found that his delightful, caring personality was also reflected in the attitude of most members of the Mormon history community, a perspective missing in many associations and alliances—a willingness to share, to encourage, and to recommend. This attitude, from the top down, was overwhelming; and as I tried to play catch-up, I had help and support, not only from Leonard, but also from Davis Bitton, David Whittaker, Michael Quinn, Jim Allen, Lavina Fielding Anderson, Jim Kimball, Ron Walker, and many others who offered suggestions and even shared new information and research sources when it would enhance my latest project. I remember David

Whittaker phoning with some new information on the very day his daughter was married.

Not many years ago, in early August I was teaching LDS Records and Family History at a BYU Genealogy conference. My two classes lasted three hours each for two evenings. Among my students was Leonard Arrington's talented daughter, Susan A. Madsen, a historian in her own right. She came up to me afterward and identified herself. I told her how much I admired her father. The next evening, she was back. She said she had mentioned my name to her father, and he was delighted she was taking a class from me. He said (at least the way I like to remember it), "You can learn a lot from Lynne." Imagine, my forty-year hero returning a compliment for me to his own daughter. The circle was complete.

Leland Howard Jorgensen
Salt Lake City, Utah

Since Leonard's passing, I've reflected on some wonderful MHA trips Lynne and I have taken with Leonard and Harriet. Our first trip with them was the MHA meeting in England in 1987 where we celebrated the 150 years since the first missionaries took the Restoration message to those stalwart people. On an extended bus tour to Scotland with our able guide Fred Buchanan, we easily became fun-loving friends with Leonard and Harriet and thoroughly enjoyed their delightful personalities. We were

lucky to be seated right behind them.

Leonard, the master teacher, was now a respectful student who observed everything and asked many insightful questions along with a few practical ones, like "Where is the restroom?" and "When do we eat?" Leonard was energetic during the entire trip, smiling and chuckling as Fred reminisced about his boyhood in Scotland and recited many passages from Robert Burns, the "Ploughboy Poet." Since then, we have taken other wonderful MHA trips with Leonard and Harriet to Hawaii (1990), Lamoni to Independence (1993), and Eastern Canada (1995).

At Leonard's funeral in Salt Lake City, his daughter Susan told about her father becoming a First Class Scout in 1930 and demonstrating his proficiency in signaling with flags in a sacrament meeting. As the other six speakers, including President Hinckley, extolled the virtues of this great historian, I realized that Leonard was a living example of what the Scouting program tries to produce. The American Scout law says that a Scout is "trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent." Leonard as a man was a super Boy Scout, giving the correct signals to the end. He is our hero.

Howard A. Christy, Provo, Utah

[*Note:* From a letter to Harriet] Like so many others, Leonard importantly affected my career as well

as my life. I shall never forget the day he came to a history master class at which I was privileged to read my paper about the Mormons and the Indians. I was fearful. What would he say about my rather controversial effort? I finished reading, and he responded simply, "Publish it." He later pointed out several things that I could do to file off the rough edges before submission. The thus-polished-and-toned essay, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-52" (*Utah Historical Quarterly*, Summer 1978) won the Dale Morgan award.

Jessie L. Embry, Provo, Utah

My memories of Leonard J. Arrington:

Students in Utah history classes at BYU asking if Arrington was a Mormon after reading *Great Basin Kingdom*. (Leonard was Church Historian at the time.)

Leonard scaring all of the honors students out of a graduate history class at BYU except for my cousin and me. Leonard always starting with me, the only woman in class, for our weekly reports. After I was out of town one week, Leonard jovially complaining that he had been "lost" without me.

Leonard suggesting my thesis topic, encouraging my research, supporting me when the Relief Society did not approve, and consoling me that I would not be refused a mission call because I did it anyway.

Leonard and I speaking on the same program at the Marriott Cen-

ter during BYU Women's Conference. I watching half the audience leave after Leonard finished and before I began.

Leonard's sadness when Grace died. Carl staying to teach him how to cook. Leonard asking me what I ate because he was tired of Stouffers.

Leonard giving me autographed copies of his books.

Leonard showing the same concern for everyone.

Mel Bashore, Riverton, Utah

What makes somebody do something purely because it's right and good? Leonard did good things that he didn't have to do for "big people" and for "little people." He brooked no distinctions. He was a most uncommon common man. When I began working in the library of the Historical Department during the Camelot years, I was one of the "little people." Nothing in my background had prepared me to be anything more than an interested spectator in what was going on here twenty-five years ago. I began attending the weekly noon gatherings, listening to historians and writers report on their historical findings and research. I got caught up in the excitement of it all. It didn't take long before I decided to try my hand at this history business. Leonard had created an atmosphere here that emboldened the "little people"—like me—to think they could play a part. I didn't know the first thing about researching or writing history for

publication. I raced through lunch for about a year so I could spend a half hour each day researching polygamist prison writings. I wrote an article and asked Leonard if he would read it and tell me if it was worth anything. I still wonder at my audacity. But Leonard was so approachable. I didn't know the ropes. This history business was all new to me, but Leonard guided me in what to do; and at my first submission, my article was accepted for publication. How fun!

Last year, the *Journal* published one of my articles. Soon after it was published, I came down with bronchitis. I spent about a week at home trying to get better. To say the least, I felt rotten. While at home, I received a wonderful letter from Leonard commending me for my article. He wrote me such nice things. He was so personal. At this time of his passing, it gives me a pain in my heart to remember the contrast between how sick I felt and how his letter perked me up. I'm glad I wrote him a letter to tell him how he brightened up my week and how much I thought of him. But that was the essence of Leonard—always doing something that he didn't have to do—even for one of the “little people.”

Howard R. Lamar
North Haven, Connecticut

[*Note:* From a letter to Harriet.] Leonard has always been such a special friend and scholarly hero to me that I was thrilled when I was asked to give the 1998 Arrington Lecture.

In retrospect, the privilege of seeing him in Logan and watching all those scores of admiring people attending the unveiling of his fine portrait was, for me, a precious and unique moment in time that I will never forget.

B. Carmon Hardy
Orange, California

My first acquaintance with Leonard Arrington occurred in the late 1950s when, as a graduate student at Brigham Young University, I encountered his *Great Basin Kingdom*, recently published and on display in the BYU Bookstore. Ever since, that impressive work has remained at close reach on my bookshelf. I did not personally meet Leonard until the early 1960s. At that time, as a young professor at BYU completing my dissertation on the Mormon colonies in Mexico, I contacted him at Utah State University, where he was teaching, for assistance concerning economic life in the colonies. He had gathered material on the subject when preparing *Great Basin Kingdom* and said he would share all he had with me. For two days, I copied from his extensive typed and handwritten 3x5 notes filed in the drawers of an old card catalog kept in his office. The information was enormously helpful and remains in my own scribbled hand, also on 3x5 cards, to this day. More important than the actual notes, however, is the image of Leonard, eagerly explaining this reference or that, inviting me to use anything I wished. All scholars know the proprietary feelings that surround their

labors. And too often information is borrowed and appropriated without sufficient acknowledgement. Though I have tried always to give proper attribution, Leonard never even asked that I recognize or identify him as the source for what I obtained. I was only encouraged to use what I could in any way that I could.

More than a decade later when, during his tenure as Church Historian, I was given a summer fellowship to work in the Church's archives, he helped me again. The archives were a beehive of research in those days, and my chief recollection is that of a bespectacled Leonard patiently listening to queries from me and others, then leading us to the manuscript reading room to find what was needed, one of his pant cuffs unravelled and trailing on the floor. How, throughout his career, he found time to assist and listen to so many amazes me yet. It was not just that he had projects of his own but that his energies were splayed by so many tasks. I think of the kind notes he often sent to others concerning their articles and books, the thoughtful Christmas cards containing quotations from old Mormon diaries, countless requests to prepare introductions to the books of others or to write letters of recommendation, his sterling service to a variety of professional organizations, and, of course, the unmeasured drafts of time taken by Church and family responsibilities.

There is another dimension of the man I have thought often about

and that will always have meaning for me. Like many who work extensively with Mormon documents, I grew to question the historical foundation of many of Mormon's truth claims. In my own case, this led to increasing distance from the Mormon community itself. My conversations with Leonard on this matter were few, and I had only limited opportunities to judge his personal disposition on such questions. But I never discerned anything but sincere understanding of my doubts while quietly holding to a strong conviction of Mormonism's irreplaceable value to himself. Some have spoken critically because, despite his immense knowledge of the Church's past and the unfairness he sometimes endured at the hands of ecclesiastical leaders, his public statements, both oral and written, remained so unexceptionably approving. For me, however, this only enlarged the stature of the man. It bespoke his essentially benign, large-souled approach to life generally. In my presence, at least, he saw only the best in people and institutions, especially when dealing with his rich, Latter-day Saint tradition. What Leonard did with the past, he also did with the present. However apart or outside the culture I sometimes felt, Leonard always made me feel like an insider.

Far more than the huge body of writings he produced or the even larger number his example and assistance inspired, Leonard Arington will remain most important

to me as an example of one who worked happily, shared generously, and behaved with an open, humane view of the world. He represented the best in historical scholarship, in Mormonism, and in our society generally. For me, his is a painful loss.

Clyde Milner, Logan, Utah

[*Note: From a letter to Harriet*] Leonard was a great man and greatly loved. But I don't think death will slow him down. I'm sure Leonard is already at work on another book. He was a scholar's scholar, and I expect, when we cross over, that he'll be waiting with a shelf of books that he's written and that we'll want to read. But it's not the books we'll miss until we get to see him again; it's the warm attention of his gaze and the joy in his voice.

**David L. Clark
Madison, Wisconsin**

I first talked with Leonard a little more than ten years ago when I was trying to determine the facts behind the report of a wife of Brigham Young buried in Wisconsin. As I told the story to Leonard and identified the name and date on the tombstone, he was interested, friendly, and helpful, but never scornful of what we both eventually agreed probably was a farce. He patiently reviewed for me the twenty-seven best-known wives of Brigham Young, their collective fate, as well as Brigham Young's activities in 1844 (the date on the spurious tombstone). He made suggestions

about several possible interpretations, and, finally, charged me to get at the truth of the report.

I was impressed that he would take so much time to talk with me about what he considered to be an interesting, but obviously apocryphal story, and his encouragement to get to the bottom of the story. I had been aware of his significant contribution to Mormon history for many years before this first meeting, but this encounter was a source of personal inspiration and encouragement toward the goal of discovering the story behind the farce. The Wisconsin wife story was interesting to him, and he encouraged me because he thought that, perhaps, the story was important for Mormon history, as well.

**Martin Ridge
San Marino, California**

[*Note: From a letter to Harriet*] You do not know me. I am one of the countless historians of the American West whose life was enriched by your late husband. I could not allow his passing to go without acknowledging both my debt and gratitude for his support and for his contribution to the field.

Dale Beecher, Salt Lake City

My introduction to Leonard was in a class on Utah history at Utah State University, when Professor George Ellsworth invited him in to discuss the development of the state's economy. It was evident then that this was a man who knew his stuff and how to teach it.

I got to know him at the LDS Church Historical Department when, with a fellowship, I became an adjunct member of his staff for a while in the early days of Camelot a quarter century ago. There he encouraged my research and personally saw that my first articles were published. I saw him do the same for several other young scholars.

I watched him walk the tightrope between critics in the Church who complained that his professional objectivity would damage testimonies and outside critics who accused him of being an apologist for the Church. He expressed his view that, if he was catching about as much flak from one side as from the other, he was probably on the right course.

A couple of times he confided to me the hurt he felt when people, of the Church or of academia, whom he regarded as allies turned on him. Nevertheless, although at times a hint of discouragement showed through his composure, he never lost his equilibrium, never lost his perspective, never lost his humor about it all, never lost his faith, and never slacked in his calling.

With all students of the Mormon saga, I am going to miss Leonard's easy-going leadership and nurturing of interpretive studies in history, literature, philosophy, and other disciplines that found shade under his umbrella. With the study group we both attended, I will miss his insightful discourse and commentary, as well as his encyclopedic knowledge. For myself, I will miss his good hu-

mor, the stories told from his own life and from many others, his gruff voice singing Italian arias, and congenial gatherings—at his home or wherever people could catch him standing still.

I feel a great loss at the passing of Leonard Arrington. but one thing I will never lose: the honor I've had to call him my friend.

Newell G. Bringham
Visalia, California

I fondly recall my various encounters with Leonard Arrington over some twenty-five years. The first occurred at the annual Mormon History Association meeting at St. George in 1976. As a fledgling scholar just out of graduate school, attending MHA for the first time, I was extremely nervous about giving my first scholarly presentation in a professional setting. At this gathering I saw for the first time various outstanding Mormon studies scholars—individuals whose works I had first encountered as a student, itself an intimidating experience. But in meeting Leonard Arrington, I was immediately put at ease by his unassuming, unpretentious manner despite his acknowledged status as the dean of Mormon historians. Extremely empathic, he expressed genuine interest in my research and writing.

Leonard's interest and support continued strong over the years. He encouraged me in my efforts during the late 1970s even though, at the time, I was examining the highly

controversial history of Mormon black priesthood denial. On one memorable occasion, Leonard even went so far as to praise my then work in progress to subordinates in the LDS Church Historical Department. He was generous in other ways. While working on his definitive Brigham Young biography, Leonard unselfishly shared crucial information and encouraged me in my own modest study of the great Mormon leader and colonizer.

Leonard continued to be interested in my work right down to the end of his life. In a hand-written note last October, he praised an essay that I had recently published, but I was far from unique in this regard. Various scholars throughout the Mormon studies community have experienced Leonard's extreme generosity. His departure leaves a permanent void. He will be sorely missed by all who had the privilege of knowing and interacting with this unique individual—not just as a founding father of the Mormon History Association but also as a caring mentor and a warm, generous, down-to-earth human being.

Bill Russell, Lamoni, Iowa

I was raised in a strong RLDS family in the Midwest and did not meet a Mormon, as best I can recall, until I was twenty-three. But that did not prevent me from believing the stereotypes many RLDS taught about Mormons: blood atonement, Adam-God worship, and of course, we all knew that polygamy was started by Brigham Young in Utah

to satisfy the lusts of the men who "left the Church" and led most of its members to Utah. And naturally, the Mountain Meadows Massacre was the kind of thing you would expect of Mormons.

Leonard Arrington destroyed those comfortable stereotypes for me. It started when, one day in the spring of 1971, I got in a car with Lyman and Paul Edwards and Dick Howard, and we headed for Provo, Utah, for something called "the Mormon History Association." The only Mormon scholar I had ever met was Bob Matthews of BYU, who had visited the Graceland campus about six months earlier with Lyman Edwards. But the main reason I went was that I knew I would have a good time spending about four days with Dick Howard and the Edwards boys.

When we arrived in Provo, Jim Allen gave us a tour of the campus. Then we took our seats at the first session of the annual MHA meeting. While we were waiting for the meeting to start, Leonard walked into the room. When he saw us, he rushed over, vaulted over a row of seats, shook our hands, and asked us to create space for him in the middle of our group. With great enthusiasm Leonard peppered us with questions about our church and our individual interpretations of its history and faith. I had never seen a non-RLDS person—not even a potential convert—so interested in our history and theology. Knowing that Leonard was perhaps the most widely re-

spected LDS historian added to our feeling of immediate acceptance in the MHA. I also recall with fondness the acceptance and bond that quickly developed with Jim and Renée Allen and Tom and Marilyn Alexander. And soon there were many others—Mel Smith, the Andersons, the Newells, the Beechers, Barbara Haugsoen, Elbert Peck, George Smith, and on and on.

That fall at the Western History Association meeting in Sante Fe, New Mexico, Leonard gathered the four of us from the Midwest and a similar number of LDS historians for a late-night discussion in his motel room, in which Leonard peppered us with questions as to what we believed about the Book of Mormon, the restoration of the gospel, the priesthood, and many more. We heard later that others were critical of Leonard when they heard that he had served us Coca-Cola. I fondly recall that evening in the “coke-filled room in Santa Fe.”

By coincidence Paul and I flew into Salt Lake City on the evening after the “Howard Hughes will” was discovered in the Church Office Building. We stayed overnight with Leonard and Grace before the whole gang departed the next morning for the annual MHA meeting in St. George. Knowing that Paul is a coffee addict, Leonard got out a jar of instant coffee that he had bought just for him. Leonard may not have drunk coke or coffee, but he sure was an enabler!

In the years since, it has always been a joy to see Leonard, and eventually Harriet, at meetings of the MHA and Sunstone. I have long believed that the true Christian has a greater allegiance to loving people and loving the truth more than an institution. Leonard Arrington was that kind of person. I always felt loved by Leonard. Never once were our institutional affiliations a barrier. In the Mormon History Association, Christ has broken down the dividing wall that separated the RLDS from our Mormon cousins. Leonard Arrington embodied that spirit more than anyone.

Leonard, my dear brother, we loved you and we will miss you.

Linda Sillitoe, Mesa, Arizona
Letter to Leonard

February 1, 1999

I hear that you have another book out!—though I’ve not seen it yet. I’ve been a little out of the loop since moving to Arizona. Fortunately, John keeps me apprised of the important literature, and I look forward to seeing your latest offering. I’m sorry to hear, also, that you are not feeling well, and of course I send my warmest wishes in that regard.

As I sat down to write this little missive, I suddenly remembered first meeting you—at the MHA meeting in St. George in 1976. We rode down on the bus, listening to mini-lectures all the way; toured Mountain Meadows; saw Juanita Brooks honored; and viewed what would

become my personal cult movie, *All the President's Men*—along with Richard and Susan Oman, while Richard plotted to throw their sleeping bags down “on Brigham Young’s lawn.” (Rarely am I so precise on dates, but I didn’t travel often in those days, and our third child was born nine months later.) I remember feeling quite awed, first to hear that you were booked into the same motel we were; and second, that due to some confusion, you doubled up with someone to make another room available. Quickly, when we had the chance to chat, my worshipful feelings toward the great historian who brought on the Arrington Spring were underscored by finding a generous and encouraging friend. Your calls and notes, after that, when something of mine appeared in print went a long way to bolster my confidence and courage. Of course, the decades since have only multiplied the many who, like I, appreciate the man as well as the legend.

Robert G. Vernon, Salt Lake City

Although my relationship with Leonard Arrington was not extremely close, he always seemed to know who I was and was always very willing, in his typically friendly, cheerful, and knowledgeable way, to discuss with me whatever historical topic interested me the most at the moment. I especially remember being pleasantly surprised (although I shouldn’t have) at how familiar he was with my Vernon family roots in Logan when we discussed the subject one day.

While growing up in New York, and especially while attending both Columbia College and Law School there in the 1940s and early 1960s, I had developed a whole host of questions about many aspects of Mormon history and doctrine. I kept badgering various people for more information about them but discovered, to my chagrin, that they didn’t know very much more than I did. Just when I was about to despair of ever finding the key to these perplexities, along came Leonard and his able associates to provide with great clarity, research, and resourcefulness exactly the illumination I needed on one important topic after another. I was overjoyed. Leonard was thus the main, driving force that helped me in this unfolding odyssey to understand and appreciate my LDS and Utah heritage more fully. This was and is an extremely important area in my life, and the powerful impact Leonard and his colleagues had on my development and progress as a human being cannot be overstated.

As part of our gospel, as I understand it, I have come to expect my teachers to fulfill the following basic requests: (1) Just tell me the truth, and (2) Tell me the *whole* story. Leonard acquitted himself most admirably on both counts.

I treasure a photograph taken of me and Leonard a couple of years ago at a Sunstone Symposium, our arms around each other’s shoulders, denoting both our friendship and the bonds of our mutual heritage in

the exciting world of Mormon history. But more, I treasure the memories of this great, good, kind, and knowledgeable man whose enormously beneficial influence on my life I will always cherish. Thank you, Leonard. May your legacy of goodness and your fascination with the past, as it helps us to make sense of the present, live on!

Carol Cornwall Madsen
Salt Lake City

As I sat in the chapel shortly before the funeral service for our beloved friend and historian, Leonard Arrington, I was surprised to see a young student whom I knew from Brigham Young University. He was studying business, but he harbored a deep love for Mormon history. During the festivities of the sesquicentennial commemoration of the trail west, he had transcribed, edited, and published an outstanding trail diary of one of his pioneer progenitors, and we had shared many hours talking about our current historical interests and mutual love for Mormon history. I asked him what had brought him to the funeral, thinking he had probably had some special contact of his own with Leonard, as so many others have had. He said he had never met Leonard but felt compelled to attend his funeral because Leonard was for him the cornerstone of the Mormon historical enterprise, and he wanted to pay his own personal respects to the man who had engen-

dered such a love of Mormon history in him.

That brief incident suggests to me the breadth of influence Leonard had on both the nature of Mormon historical writing and on those engaged in doing it. His work and his great gift of outreach were indeed beacons, drawing scholars from all fields, as well as would-be historians and family chroniclers to his work and his words. And no one was more generous with words of encouragement, of endorsement, and most often of praise of others than he.

Leonard gave me opportunity to use my newly acquired graduate degree in history as the last to join his team in the History Division of the Church's Historical Department. Just a short time later, when the process of disassembling occurred, it seemed logical that, as the last to come, I would be the first to go. But Leonard would not have it. I could only hope that everyone might have an advocate as loyal and determined as Leonard was in my behalf. He mounted a defense that has been the impetus for my commitment to validate his efforts by my work. I know I am but one of hundreds who have benefitted from Leonard's advocacy.

Those of us engaged in reconstructing Mormon women's lives look to him and his pathbreaking article, "The Economic Role of Mormon Women," as the door that opened to us Mormon women's history. He not only showed that LDS

women *have* a history but gave us a model of how to write their history. His continued interest and contributions have helped to solidify this aspect of the Mormon past as a legitimate field of historical inquiry.

Other historians have and will continue to make their mark in this most challenging, rewarding, and burgeoning field of study. Leonard laid the foundation for us all. We can only hope that what we build on that foundation will be as sound.

Marian Ashby Johnson
Provo, Utah

I first met Leonard Arrington in San Francisco in 1965 at the first meeting of the Mormon History Association. I was delighted to be among those who went to a restaurant with him afterwards, and it was there I first felt his warmth and charisma. He was the kind of person I admire most. He had a broad focus on spiritual roots and history and was, in my estimation, a true Renaissance man, curious about everything and everyone around him. He had an undying interest in people and an infectious enthusiasm for life and culture. Wes and I saw him at the opera, almost ready to burst with the joy of it; and his love of Italy and Italian arias endeared him to us even more.

When *Dialogue* was first started at Stanford, Leonard was one of our most gracious and effective supporters. I was the manuscript editor for a time, and it was in this position I learned what a *grand homme* Leonard truly was. When something

he wrote was sent to an editor to review, he accepted criticism and was even grateful for it. He looked at life as an experience to be enjoyed and to grow from.

Later when we moved to Provo, I felt honored and happy to be included on a number of memorable occasions (meetings, banquets, dinners) as a part of his "group." He attracted people around him no matter where he went. He was always witty and charming and did not hold any grudges. He shared ideas freely and with enthusiasm because he wanted others to succeed. I will never forget his pithy advice at a time when I needed it most. He was never negative or bitter even though some feel he had reason to be.

One of the main reasons I appreciated Leonard, however, was the fact that he took women scholars seriously. I appreciated his encouragement of women and the understanding of the importance of Mormon women and women in general. I believe this was, at least in part, due to the two wonderful wives he was privileged to marry. On a number of occasions, he encouraged me in my research on African women, but he was especially interested in my work on the Mormon artist Minerva Teichert. He had sensitive insights on her influence and on Harriet's grandmother, Alice Merrill Horne, who promoted and marketed Minerva's paintings during a great part of her career and whose biography Harriet is writing.

I will always remember Leonard

Arrington as a giving, sharing human being. He wrote accessible and well-researched histories which will continue to influence scholars everywhere and will inspire members of the Church to appreciate their heritage.

G. Wesley Johnson, Provo, Utah

Although I am a European (French) and African historian and Marian was trained in European and African art, it was always a delight to us to be included in many gatherings connected with Leonard. Our relationship to him was one of colleagues in history and culture, not Mormon studies. We shall miss that hearty laugh and radiant face. Leonard was a unique colleague and friend—one of a kind.

When I was an undergraduate at Harvard, majoring in American history, one of my mentors was Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., who gave a pioneering course on American social history. He and his ideas helped me frame my senior honors thesis, which later convinced me to become a professional historian. But one day the great savant, who had a reputation for being very fair in his judgments, made some blistering remarks about the Mormons. I was crushed and went to talk with him. He observed that almost all of the serious literature was written by anti-Mormons: "When will you people ever embrace serious history to defend your faith?"

It was not until many years later, as a young professor at Stanford,

that I had the opportunity to meet an LDS historian who increasingly was being published far and wide. Gene England and I and other Stanford colleagues had decided in 1965 to issue a prospectus for a new journal we created, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. We had good feedback from academics and professional people all over the country, including one Leonard Arrington, whom Gene had earlier told about *Dialogue*. Feeling the need to have several senior scholars advise us, we invited Leonard and Lowell Bennion to join our board. Then Leonard called me and said, "Wesley, at the forthcoming national meetings of the American Historical Association after Christmas, we are going to organize the Mormon History Association. Could you come up to San Francisco and speak to us about *Dialogue*?" I was delighted, because rumors were circulating that the new MHA would publish its own journal, which in our view would short-circuit our effort. Leonard calmed my nerves; he said that such a journal was premature and that there was no reason why the emerging group of faithful LDS historians could not publish in *Dialogue* in the interim. It was a very important turning point for us. After that evening meeting, Marian and I were invited to join Leonard for dinner at an Armenian restaurant, and he regaled us with his Italian experiences. We got to know the hearty Leonard at the same time we

began to realize that perhaps here was the long awaited Defender.

Over the next seven years that I coedited and then edited *Dialogue*, it was a pleasure to work with Leonard, who sent us some of his most original articles; equally important, he channeled to us manuscripts from friends, students, and colleagues. Whenever we were discouraged about our unusual enterprise, he cheered us up. As my career progressed, it was astonishing how many historians I met who knew of Leonard's work (mostly non-American historians). Leonard preceded me as a visiting professor at UCLA, and it was impressive to see how he had touched the lives of so many people there.

As the years went by, it became increasingly obvious that Leonard was the person we undergraduates had awaited: his calling as Church historian and his magisterial biography of Brigham Young confirmed these notions that he was indeed our Defender of the Faith to the outside world. Leonard was not only a meticulous scholar but was also an entrepreneur of ideas and talent—traits rarely present in one person. His legacy will be remembered and held as precious by all who are concerned about truth and who seek to understand both how and why things happened in the past. And his hearty appetite for life will never be forgotten.

DOCUMENTS AND DUSTY TOMES: THE ADVENTURE OF ARRINGTON, ESPLIN, AND YOUNG

Ronald K. Esplin

LEONARD AND I FIRST MET in March 1972, courtesy of Jim Allen, but it was truly Brigham Young who drew us together. Leonard, called in January as Church Historian, visited Brigham Young University for a conference and we met at lunch. James B. Allen, my major professor and mentor whose own call as Assistant Church Historian had not yet been announced, arranged the meeting. I was then completing course

work and preparing to write a dissertation on Brigham Young, a dream that had pulled me back to the West after completing my M.A. at the University of Virginia. Jim knew of my interest, of course. He also knew, as I did not, that Leonard needed a Brigham Young enthusiast to help him get a handle on a vast repository of Brigham Young materials, some of which, he came later to joke, "had not been examined since the 'move south' in 1858."

We got acquainted that afternoon. We chatted about Brigham Young. We also traded negative assessments of the then recently published biography, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* by Stanley P. Hirshson, which had appeared (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969) while I was at Virginia. We were both appalled that a respected scholar backed by a prestigious fellowship could publish with Alfred A. Knopf, a national press, such a distorted study, one that essentially ignored the mountain of historical evidence available in the West in favor of comfortably digging around in the voluminous but badly distorted reports published in the East.¹ Camping among the files of Eastern newspapers whose

RONALD K. ESPLIN, director of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, has held that position for thirteen years, succeeding Leonard when he retired after fourteen. Esplin's dissertation on Brigham Young is a standard for the early years. The chapter on Brigham Young's British mission in Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses* was drawn from research that was later published as a full volume, coauthored with James B. Allen and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles, 1837-1841* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992). *Shaking Hands with Heaven*, a book of biographical essays on Brigham Young, is forthcoming from Brigham Young University Press later this year.

¹Not only Brigham Young and his associates but even non-Mormons observers actually in the West reported their surprise at the total unreliability of the news. During the Utah War period, for example, when the number of correspondents might have militated against gross distortions, Captain Jesse Gove wrote from the army camp near Fort Bridger that he had lately received several eastern newspapers with stories about the conditions of the Utah Expedition. Were they accurate? "Just about as much like it is as a church is to a slaughter house," he explained to his family. Late that year the new governor, Alfred Cumming, and his wife Elizabeth, arrived in Salt Lake City. Mrs. Cumming wrote home about the "New York & other papers" just received: "The *quantity* of news about Utah—but amid all the falsehoods, it is strange that *not one single truth* should be told—yet such is the fact. . . . The chief peculiarity of all these stories lies in the fact that there is not even a *foundation* for any of them." See Otis G. Hammond, ed., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858; Letters of Captain Jesse A. Gove*. . . . Vol. 12 in *New Hampshire Historical Society Collections* (Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1938), 148; and Elizabeth Cumming as quoted in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the*

reports were often sensationalized and sometimes written by enemies produced a caricature, not the true article. As a graduate student at UVA, "Jefferson's University," when the book was issued, I could easily see that such an approach would be tantamount to writing a biography of my beloved Thomas Jefferson² using rabidly anti-Jefferson Federalist newspapers as the primary source. The great Jefferson could only emerge from such treatment as villain and demon. Brigham fared no better. Leonard, who then knew much better than I the real Brigham Young, was even more dismayed. What an injustice to Brigham! How unprofessional! So we chatted.

Leonard and Jim and I agreed that afternoon that the fuller and more balanced tale could be told only by probing the rich documents which President Young and his associates had left behind. Contrary to Hirshson's assertion,³ the real story was in the West, not the East. I, for one, was anxious to wrap up in the classroom and start digging. I had no idea, however, how soon it would be, how deep I would dig, or how long I would be at the task—or that I would undertake it in association with Leonard Arrington.

Not long after this luncheon, Leonard called to offer me a summer 1972 fellowship with the specific assignment of sorting through the mass of Brigham Young materials "just uncovered." As the Church Historian's Office (its appellation for well over a century) outgrew its offices on the third floor of the Church Administration Building, precious materials had been stashed wherever they would fit. A storage room in the southwest corner of the basement served as a principal overflow area where, stacked floor to ceiling, jammed in window wells and around and even on top of

Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 312.

²Just as Leonard eventually came to feel personally acquainted with Brother Brigham, some of my professors claimed a connection to Jefferson, and the fellowship which paid my tuition bore his name.

³After a visit to the Church Historian's Office where, insisted Hirshson, he "received no help or encouragement," Hirshson curiously asserted that he believed "that those who have previously studied Young have scoured the wrong places. The key to understanding him is not in the Rocky Mountains but in the Midwest and along the Atlantic Coast, not in secret materials [i.e., those in the Church Historian's Office] but in the rich holdings of Yale University, of the New York Public Library, and the National Archives, .á.á. and most especially in the files of the *New York World*, the *New York Tribune*, the *New York Herald*, the *New York Times*, the *Springfield Republican*, the *Philadelphia Morning Post*, and the other great Eastern newspapers prosperous and wise enough to keep correspondents in Utah, to send their best reporters to Salt Lake City for varying periods of time, and to interview leading Mormons who came east" (9-10).

air ducts, packages and, literally, “dusty tomes” awaited. Later that year the Historian’s Office, renamed the Historical Department, would move into the spacious East Wing of the then-new Church Office Building. These materials had to be prepared for that move. But for us it was an adventure, an exploration, as we prepared for *using* the materials to better understand Brigham Young and his world. Dirty, dusty . . . and wonderful! Leonard delighted in each new discovery, as did I.

So I spent that summer of 1972 largely in the basement, buried in bundles and boxes, surrounded by documents and dust. It was enthralling to open bundles and dust off bags which had not been opened in decades—in some cases, we were convinced, since they were set aside in the nineteenth century—to find treasures. It was a joy to share those day by day with Leonard, who delighted in each one and whose love for Brigham Young and passion for getting to the bottom of things seemed limitless. Here were the actual account books that not only documented but made possible the credit-based financial system on which the pioneer economy rested. In that bag a packet of correspondence between governor-designate Alfred Cumming and other officials during the Utah War. In the other, a draft of the nearly hundred-page document Brigham Young and his associates prepared for Millard Fillmore, President of the United States, presenting with detail and humorous imagery the Mormon side of controversial interactions with the federal government from the time the Saints left Nauvoo. And on and on.

In one sense there was too much. The summer fellowship was ending and the job was far from done. One day, with only weeks before my family and I were scheduled to leave for California, where I had accepted a position to teach in an Institute of Religion, Leonard offered me a longer arrangement and urged me to stay. Impossible, I explained: I was a late “transfer” to fill an unexpected vacancy; and not only had I promised to be there, this was an opportunity too good to pass up and we *wanted* to be there. I couldn’t, I wouldn’t, ask CES administrators to make a last-minute change. He departed. Not a word more about the matter for two weeks, when he broached the subject again. “I’ve spoken with Joe Christensen,” Seminaries and Institutes administrator, “and he says that it will be okay. Now will you stay?” I said yes. The next year I said yes again. I never left.

That was emblematic of how Leonard worked: quietly and effectively. Each of us who worked for him and with him in the LDS Church Historical Department could tell a similar story of being drawn in, plucked, as it were, from other prospects, from another life, and brought to share in and help fulfill his dream of dedicating full-time to writing professionally credible history which at the same time shared with Latter-day Saints more of their rich heritage.

My family and I never made it to southern California. I ended up spending much of the next several years cataloging not just that basement collection but, with Church Archives colleagues, pulling together the greater Brigham Young collection. Modern professional standards encourage keeping collections intact, preserving whenever possible both provenance (ownership or origin) and original order (context). This helps both archivists and researchers. But in the pioneer era, many documents were filed by date regardless of ownership or authorship, and later, to facilitate access, often by subject. A hundred years later, even though most of President Young's papers remained in Church custody, they were scattered, filed in many different locations.

Once lost, recreating "original order" is impossible, but my colleagues and I worked to establish a reasonable facsimile. Eventually we assembled an impressive collection occupying more than seventy shelf-feet of space. Leonard forever after delighted in ticking off the numbers, in part, perhaps, because they underscored the records that Hirshson had missed, but also because they described the body of records that biographer Leonard Arrington mined:

Twenty-nine volumes of copy books containing something like a thousand pages of outgoing correspondence each

Thousands of letters to Brigham Young

The Manuscript History of Brigham Young kept by his clerks

Four holograph diaries

Nine office journals, some of them several hundred pages long

Thousands of pages of minutes and manuscript copies of hundreds of sermons

Telegram books with hundreds of telegrams in each

Papers of Brigham Young as governor of Utah

Papers of Brigham Young as Superintendent of Indian Affairs

Scores of small account books, thousands of invoices, and dozens of large ledgers⁴

Even this list did not exhaust the relevant records in the LDS Church Archives. Historical records of wards, stakes, and missions preserved rich information, as did the diaries and letters of associates. Nor was the total static. Exciting new holograph letters, moving, detailed, written to Mary Ann Angell Young in the 1830s and early 1840s, surfaced during the 1970s,

⁴See Leonard J. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 198. He recited a similar list at the Smith Institute's 20 March 1998 annual symposium at BYU as part of his "Reflections of a Brigham Young Biographer" and no doubt on dozens of other occasions over the years.

and late in the decade a missing volume of Brigham Young's office journal also reappeared. We greeted each new find as a treasure from the past, and each opened a small window—occasionally an entire vista.

Leonard didn't have much patience for those who, like Hirshson, wrote history without a thorough acquaintance with this abundant documentary record or for those who brushed aside that obligation with complaints that "the Church was not cooperative" and records were not accessible. He, after all, had done his master-work, *Great Basin Kingdom*, based on a thorough examination of the incomparably rich holdings of the Church Historian's Office, at a time when everything was supposedly "closed." He and others of his generation confirmed that with patience, demonstrated competence, and good will, doors opened and documents were available. Now even more records had been assembled and they were now more easily available.⁵ The prospects were exciting. Good would come of it.

My memories of working with Leonard during the 1970s will always include our involvement with the life and work of President Young and the documentary record he left behind. But the excitement of discovery and intellectual exploration was not limited to those. These were enchanting years of discussion and exchange as we explored many aspects of our heritage. Under Leonard, the LDS History Division and the Historical Department became even more a meeting place and a crossroads full of interesting people—brought not just by the incredibly rich holdings of the Church Archives but by Leonard, his enthusiasm, his contacts, his reputation. There was camaraderie and the sense of being part of something worthwhile, something lasting, as we sought, individually and collectively, to better understand our shared past.

Leonard imparted to us all a vision. It included a commitment to history grounded in the sources and written to the highest professional standards but also an abiding conviction that history so written was not incompatible with faith. He believed deeply and dedicated his professional life to the proposition that he, and we his colleagues, could write for two

⁵Leonard is often given credit for "opening up the archives." Certainly he promoted openness and believed that the Church had nothing to fear from a full examination of the documentary record of our extraordinary story. But he was a beneficiary of openness as much as a promoter. As a young professor he had benefitted from Church Historian's Office administrators who had been willing to let an outsider in. And in the 1970s, the same movement to professionalize this office and make better use of its collections for the benefit of the Latter-day Saints that led to his appointment also led to liberalized access policies. While he was an advocate of such policies and applauded them, they were never under his control.

audiences—both other professionals and our fellow Latter-day Saints. His inner sense, the counsel he received from those who called him as Church Historian and set the enterprise in motion, and much of our experience convinced him it was so. A deep conviction that the Church had nothing to fear from a full examination of the documentary record of our extraordinary story sustained him as he managed the work of the History Division and encouraged the flourishing of a wide network of other historians and projects.

During the late 1970s, his confidence was tested as concerns mounted about some of the work produced by Leonard and his staff. It didn't help that what was published by History Division from the Church Office Building (and sometimes with the Deseret Book imprimatur, as well), was sometimes mistaken as "official" history—i.e, history endorsed by or expressing the viewpoint of the Church—which it definitely was not. While written from a perspective of faith and with confidence that dealing with issues forthrightly ultimately would prove constructive, Leonard's brand of history represented not the voice of the Church but the best effort of individual scholars. Quality was maintained by internal and external review by peers, not through the official committees that reviewed curriculum. Only pieces prepared for publication in a Church periodical went through such channels. Predictably, understandably, not everyone was comfortable with that.

As criticism mounted, several concerns were "in play," but a certain ambiguity can stand for them all: Was this official history or not? (No.) Was it correlated or not? (No.) Then should it be published from the Church Office Building? (Perhaps not.) This line of reasoning resulted in a decision by the summer of 1980 to move Leonard and his operation to Brigham Young University. In June 1980, Jeffrey R. Holland, Church Commissioner of Education and soon to be president of BYU, met with Leonard and his staff in the Historical Department conference room to announce that, beginning in September, the history-writing operation would be transferred to BYU and would function as the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History.⁶

Leonard was hardly enthusiastic. For one thing, he felt that he had unfinished business in Salt Lake City. If his goal was to establish a tradition of scholarly excellence through professional historians mining the documentary record, the work was well begun but hardly finished, and he could not see how moving fifty miles from the archives made it any easier. Although I don't recall hearing him explicitly articulate the longing to remain

⁶The name was changed to the Joseph Fielding Smith for Latter-day Saint History 13 November 1998.

near his beloved documents, deep down I believe that, as much as anything, the thought of leaving his office a few yards from the priceless records distressed him deeply. No matter how wonderful BYU proved to be as a setting for continuing the work, it was not the Historical Department; no matter how rich Special Collections and Manuscripts in the Lee Library—and they do have first-rate, indispensable collections—it was not the LDS Church Archives. Leonard negotiated, he pleaded, but to little avail. The administrative change would be effective in September and, after a transition period during which offices would be established at BYU, all History Division office space in the Church Office Building would be closed. Leonard and his entire staff must vacate their quarters.

Leonard could not bring himself to embrace the change. Of course he followed counsel and, as always, put a good face on things, but his heart wasn't in the transfer. And he didn't leave until they padlocked the door. His office on the second floor of the east wing was still open for business in August 1982, and not until the moving truck was backed up to the loading dock, did he finish preparations to vacate. Furthermore, when he moved, it was not to Provo, at least not lock, stock, and barrel. Many things went from his office to his home. He had always done creative work at home, but now, except for trips downtown to check the records, his research and his writing would be home-centered. Even his spacious eastside home in Salt Lake City, however, could not accommodate all his files and books, so his BYU office looked professional enough, occupied. And it was. It served as his administrative office. For meetings, to exchange manuscripts with his secretary, and to teach his classes, he made the trek south. But not, one imagines, with great enthusiasm. His home, after all, was his writing and productivity center, and it was many miles closer to the documents than his office.

Accommodations made, Leonard resumed research and writing. Indeed, some of his very best work was completed during his productive Smith Institute BYU years, including his landmark biography of Brigham Young. The appearance of Hirshson's *Lion of the Lord* sixteen years earlier underscored the need for and perhaps nudged Leonard along on the lengthy journey to provide national readers a more accurate and sympathetic Brigham Young. He took particular satisfaction when, in 1985, his *American Moses* was finally published by the very same national publishing house, Alfred A. Knopf, that had published Hirshson, and which *American Moses* now replaced.

Some interpreted our move south as an interim step that would lead to our eventual demise, others that it was a move to save the enterprise. Either way, under Leonard's direction and for some time thereafter, our BYU operation kept a low institutional profile. Each member of our faculty

was hard at work doing books and articles, but we did not seek nor make an institutional splash. Not that doing so would have been easy. History Division offices had been a natural crossroads; our BYU offices, certainly spacious, were in the out-of-the-way Knight-Mangum Building, tucked over the southeastern edge of the campus hill. It took a search even to find us! But if it was banishment, in most respects we didn't feel it; our faculty—even Leonard!—enjoyed and appreciated the advantages of our new home.

And the work continued. Dean Jessee's seminal *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, a project Leonard had long supported, appeared during this era. At BYU in the 1980s, we launched the *Papers of Joseph Smith* series, something that had eluded us in the 1970s. Under Smith Institute auspices, the landmark history of Relief Society and of Latter-day Saint women, *Women of Covenant*, finally made its way into print. And later, *Men with a Mission*, the powerful story of the missions of the Twelve to Great Britain, and *Hearts Turned to the Fathers*, a history of the Genealogical Society of Utah, whose roots reached to History Division days, found enthusiastic readers. Biographies, like *My Best for the Kingdom*, narratives such as the powerful *Wayward Saints*, essay collections, such as *Mormons in Victorian Britain* and *Nearly Everything Imaginable*, and volumes of edited documents, such as *In Their Own Words*, the *Personal Writings of Eliza R. Snow*, and *Journey to Zion*.⁷ The craft practiced and refined at Leonard's side continues to inform and to edify.

⁷Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, edited and compiled by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; 1984); Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings*, edited by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989); and Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Papers of Joseph Smith, Volume 2: Journal, 1832-1842*, edited by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles, 1837-1841* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894-1994* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994); William G. Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, A Mormon Frontiersman* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993); Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young*, foreword by Jan Shippo (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Richard L. Jensen and Malcolm R. Thorp, eds. *Mormons in Early Victorian Britain*, Publications in Mormon Studies (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989); Ronald W. Walker and Doris Dant, eds. *Nearly Everything Imaginable: Everyday Life in Mormon Utah* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999); Carol Cornwall Madsen, *In Their Own Words: Women and the Story of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994); Eliza R. Snow,

Historians have written of the disruptive nature of the great move south in 1857—the discontinuity, disorganization, for a time diminished effectiveness. Perhaps some such dynamic also contributed, for a time, to our reduced “presence” at Brigham Young University as Smith Institute. If so, those days are past. Public symposia (perhaps an echo of Leonard’s proposed Friends of Church History from Church Office Building days), summer fellowship programs (building on Leonard’s extremely productive 1970s fellowships, which helped jump-start many of us), and more resources devoted to editing and publishing (a continuing constraint that stretched back to the History Division days but which may now be lifting)⁸—these expand our reach. In addition to such institutional echoes from our early days, there are new approaches, new opportunities, new challenges. Today’s Church is three times as large with a quarter-century more history to cover than the Church of the 1970s. Today there are many times more Latter-day Saints in Brazil or Mexico than in all the world a hundred years ago, and more in Latin America, for example, than in all the world when Leonard founded the History Division. No one person or one center can encompass the work quite as Leonard did. But the mission remains, a substantial foundation is in place, the institution survives and thrives—and we who were Leonard’s coworkers look forward to the challenges of writing our story in the twenty-first century, a task that will demand expanded resources and a larger number of minds and hands.

Several weeks ago, I visited at length with Leonard to update him more fully on developments and our latest plans, initiatives that will increase the resources devoted to our mission and notch up the institute’s profile. He was pleased for us. He was pleased that more history of a rapidly expanding and dynamic people will be written. And we can forgive him a touch of pride: he was also pleased that a living legacy—his dream of professional history of his people—continues.

Leonard would have left an indelible mark had he done nothing but write *Great Basin Kingdom* and *American Moses*. But of course he did much more. On the night Leonard passed on, local TV station KSL announced the death of “the most important historian [of the Mormon people and region] and mentor to a generation.” Unlike the press that Hirshson drew on, these journalists got it right—without exaggeration or hype.

The Personal Writings of Eliza Roxcy Snow, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995); and Carol Cornwall Madsen, *Journey to Zion: Voices from the Mormon Trail* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997).

⁸Part of this program is a formal alliance with *BYU Studies* staff to produce a series under the Brigham Young University Press.

MORMONISM'S "HAPPY WARRIOR": APPRECIATING LEONARD J. ARRINGTON

Ronald W. Walker

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
William Wordsworth¹

THE PHONE RANG. Picking up the receiver, I heard my secretary's voice telling me of an incoming call. "Brother Walker," she said, "Grover Cleveland is on the phone and wants to speak with you."

At the time, I was working at the Salt Lake City headquarters of the Church Education System where things were pretty serious. The formal ways of the place and the idea that a dead U.S. President was telephoning put me off balance—considerably.

Then I heard the cheery and distinctive rasp voice of Leonard J. Arrington. "Ron, this is Grover Cleveland," he said. "How would you like to come to work for us?" I was laughing too hard to say.

During the next few weeks, Grover Cleveland's calls continued until I took the job. My secretary, an able worker but not much of a historian, never broke the cipher.

RONALD W. WALKER, a past president of the Mormon History Association, was part of Leonard J. Arrington's LDS Church History Division and is still a member of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for LDS History. His most recent books are *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young*, foreword by Jan Shipps (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998) and Ronald W. Walker and Doris Dant, eds., *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999). Parts of this essay are drawn from *Studies in Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming). This multivolume work critically examines past Mormon history writing and lists by author and topic more than 16,000 published historical items. He expresses appreciation to his collaborators, James B. Allen and David J. Whittaker, for allowing the use of some of this material in this essay.

¹William Wordsworth, "Character of the Happy Warrior."

Leonard Arrington was fun. Another time, several of us were eating at the Hotel Utah Coffee Shop. Leonard announced that he would order the dessert. "We want lemon chess pie," he told the waiter, who clearly was confused by the order. Minutes later, he returned to say that he had never heard of lemon chess pie. Nor did the restaurant have any.

Leonard's voice rose. "We want lemon chess pie," he said. "Go look for it and you'll find it." Leonard was smiling broadly as if he was aware of a great secret. The rest of us, confused like the waiter, inched down in our chairs.

Two more times, the waiter came to our table empty-handed, and two more times Leonard sent him back to the kitchen.

Then, without fanfare, the lemon chess pie suddenly appeared, and our discomfort turned to relief and total laughter. To complete Leonard's triumph, as we ate our delicious dessert, the chef came out of the kitchen to see how we were doing. "Do you like the pie?" he asked.

I never learned why lemon chess pie was such a state secret at the coffee shop—nor how Leonard came to discover it. In this, Leonard kept his own counsel.

Things were not always so happy. A year after I was hired at the LDS Historical Department, I told Leonard I was quitting due to a dispute over policy. I thought the matter serious.

Leonard closed his office door, and we talked. For the first time, I learned how deeply he cared about me personally. It was a quality that almost everyone who knew Leonard sooner or later discovered. The incident became a turning point in our relationship.

Leonard showed this same personal interest when reading our early draft manuscripts written at the Historical Department. "This is good," he would say to us young historians, even about a journeyman piece of work. Leonard wanted to encourage us, but there was another reason for his attitude. It was his way of saying that we should not unduly fuss with a draft but that we should get our writing into the marketplace as soon as possible. For truly superior work, Leonard's reaction was a little bit different. "This is *really* great," he might say. Those of us who worked with Leonard learned to listen for his adverbs and adjectives and especially for hints in his voice. Pause, shadow, and inflection meant everything.

I had Leonard reading my manuscripts long after we left the History Division and long after his formal retirement. It was a matter of friendship, and I admired his judgment. Shortly before his death, I was once more on the telephone. "Would you have time to read four essays that I have written for an upcoming book?" I asked.

Leonard thought that he might get to them in a couple of weeks, and I dropped them by his house.

That same evening Leonard was on the phone to say that he had read the first of the essays and thought that it was "great." A couple hours later came a similar call about the second essay. And the next day, there was another call, and on the second day, still another one. When I later picked up the four essays, it was clear that he had read every sentence. He had circled many typos and offered several important ideas about rephrasing and new sources. Of more personal meaning, he had put aside his own work to read my manuscript.

Leonard often sent a letter of congratulation a day or two after an article appeared in print—often before I was even aware a piece had been published. These letters were often handwritten on his personal, light-brown stationery. While these letters meant a great deal to me and made me feel that he had a personal interest in my work, I am sure that most Mormon writers were similarly honored by Leonard's correspondence. He was in the "business" of encouraging the historical enterprise, whether or not he always agreed with the argument of an article or book.

Of course, he had his own ideas about how history should be written. His ideas, in fact, helped to determine how Mormon history was written during the last part of the twentieth century. According to Leonard, the Mormon past should be investigated in human or naturalistic terms, yet without rejecting Mormonism's divinity.² He wanted a middle way, between the extremes of defending or attacking faith claims—the reason for being for most nineteenth-century and even a great deal of twentieth-century writing. Leonard was not the only LDS historian who adopted this neutral stance in his writing, but because of his personality and the quality of his work, his name became inseparably connected with what became increasingly known as the New Mormon History.³

²Leonard J. Arrington, "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (Spring 1966): 28.

³The phrase "New Mormon History" apparently first appeared in print in the late 1960s when Moses Rischin, then Fulbright Professor of History at University of Uppsala in Sweden, spoke of a "most exciting" development in the writing of Mormon history. According to Rischin, Mormonism's new generation of historians seemed willing to put aside Mormon "persistent cohesiveness," its "Old Testament concreteness," and its "cultural isolation" for a new kind of historical writing that was "at home among the *avant garde* Gentiles." See Moses Rischin, "Beyond the Great Divide: Immigration and the Last Frontier," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968): 49 and his "The New Mormon History," *American West* 6 (March 1969): 49. For other early uses of the phrase, see Robert A. Rees, "'Truth Is the Daughter of Time': Notes Toward an Imaginative Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Autumn-Winter 1971): 15-22 and Robert B. Flanders, "Some Reflections on the New Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9

The New Mormon History of course had many variations, but it was characterized by a restrained religious voice, an academic style of writing, and a search for understanding the Mormon past for its own sake and indirectly the understanding of self: A strong sense of self-discovery existed among Leonard and other New Mormon History writers. They wanted to learn more about their inherited belief and how that belief fit into the modern world of ideas.

Leonard described the path that led him to his work. He went from “chicken farmer to agriculture major; from agriculture to economics; from regional economics to Western economic history; and finally from Western history to Mormon studies.”⁴ After growing up on his family’s irrigated Idaho farm and graduating from the University of Idaho in 1939, Leonard studied at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. This last experience introduced him to the Southern agrarian writers of the post-World War I era, whose influence was pivotal. He felt a “burning in my bones” to do for the American West what Odum, Vance, Heath, and others had done for Southern regionalism.⁵

Two men further refined Leonard’s sense of mission. The first was Richard T. Ely, whose 1903 essay in *Harper’s Monthly* had launched the work of the early twentieth-century Mormon regionalists. In 1939 Leonard met Ely in Philadelphia at the annual convention of the American Economic Association. I “felt it [was] a gift of heaven that I could talk with this short, pink-cheeked, boyish-faced man, who had influenced two generations of economists and economic policy,” Leonard later wrote.⁶ Ely plied his young acquaintance with stories about the Mormon contribution to western settlement—stories that affected Leonard deeply. Later Leonard modestly reported that his Ph.D. dissertation was “merely an extension” of Ely’s pioneering work.⁷

The other figure who helped direct Leonard’s professional interest was Mormon apostle John A. Widtsoe. After completing his coursework at Chapel Hill and serving in World War II as a youthful Allied Controller of the Central Institute of Statistics during the American occupation of Italy,

(Spring 1974): 34-41. It was Flanders’s essay that especially popularized the phrase for Mormon readers.

⁴Leonard J. Arrington, “Historian as Entrepreneur: A Personal Essay,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Winter 1977): 194.

⁵Arrington, “Historian as Entrepreneur,” 195-97; see also Leonard J. Arrington, “In Praise of Amateurs,” *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 35-42.

⁶Leonard J. Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 26.

⁷*Ibid.*, 26.

Leonard returned to the Intermountain West in 1946, accepting a teaching position in economics at Utah State University in Logan, Utah. Hoping to get his professional bearings, he sought Widtsoe's advice. The former president of Utah State University and the University of Utah urged the young scholar to narrow his interest in western regionalism to Mormon country. There, Widtsoe perceptively argued, Leonard would find a unified cultural region ideal to his ambition. Not the least of its advantages, Mormon regionalism had abundant and largely untapped historical resources.⁸

The late 1940s and early 1950s were busy for Leonard. He increasingly gained access to the rich but previously restricted sources of the LDS Archives in Salt Lake City. In Logan, he joined Utah State faculty member S. George Ellsworth, LDS Institute of Religion teacher Eugene E. Campbell, and another Institute of Religion faculty member, Wendell O. Rich, in monthly study sessions in which the men read papers, many later published, on Mormon culture and history. Ellsworth was especially helpful in introducing Leonard to the methods and standards of historical writing. Then, in 1951, Leonard began to publish in such scholarly journals as *Rural Sociology*, *Journal of Economic History*, *Economic History Review*, *Western Humanities Review*, *Pacific Historical Review*, and *Business History Review*.⁹ This early work culminated in the publication of *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), a watershed in the writing of the New Mormon History. The book summarized the sociological and economic literature produced by such rural agrarians as Lowry Nelson and Nels Anderson.¹⁰ More im-

⁸Arrington, "Historian as Entrepreneur," 196-98.

⁹See David J. Whittaker, comp., "Leonard James Arrington, 1917-99: A Bibliography," *Journal of Mormon History*, forthcoming in fall 1999 issue.

¹⁰E. E. Ericksen, "The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1918; published 1922); Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952); and Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints* (1942; reprint Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). Nelson's work had been published as pamphlet-length articles twenty to twenty-five years earlier. Arrington was also influenced by such scholars as Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 31 (May 1917): 461-99, and "Communism Among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 37 (1923): 134-74; Joseph A. Geddes, "The United Order among the Mormons (Missouri Phase)" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1924); Feramor Y. Fox, "Cooperation Among the Mormons" (M.A. thesis, University of California, 1912) and "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land Under the Direction of the Mormon Church" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1932); and Thomas Lynn Smith, "A Sociological Analysis of Some of the Aspects of Rural Religious Culture as Shown

portant, it contained Leonard's own meticulous and path-breaking research. The result was a fresh and detailed view of Mormon pioneering (despite the book's expansive subtitle, it focused on the Utah era). At the same time, the book reached a larger audience by being a case study of "modern" economic planning. Here Leonard suggested that the Mormons' Great Basin Kingdom, more than eighty years before the New Deal or the Fair Deal, was the agent in a vast enterprise of centralized decision-making and regulation. Moreover, the theocracy's social ideas of homogeneity, equality, and unity coincided with many of the values urged by Richard Ely, the Southern agrarians, and New Deal planners. Leonard's book was a part of the intellectual and liberal *Zeitgeist* of its times.

The book made explicit Leonard's views about how Mormon history, as religious history, should be written. According to an important passage in the book's preface:

The true essence of God's revealed will, if such it be, cannot be apprehended without an understanding of the conditions surrounding the prophetic vision, and the symbolism and verbiage in which it is couched. . . . A naturalistic discussion of "the people and the times" and of the mind and experience of Latter-day prophets is therefore a perfectly valid aspect of religious history, and, indeed, makes more plausible the truths they attempted to convey. While the discussion of naturalistic causes of revelations does not preclude its claim to be revealed or inspired of God, in practice it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish what is objectively "revealed" from what is subjectively "contributed" by those receiving the revelation.¹¹

It was not that Leonard denied the hand of providence in the unfolding of Mormon events. Rather, he felt uncertain and unwilling to identify it, and so scrupulous was his restraint that some Mormon readers, unused to scholarly writing, assumed that *Great Basin Kingdom* was written either by a non-Mormon or an anti-Mormon. In another passage, Leonard suggested the difficulty of writing religious history. "The professional in us fights against religious naivete," he wrote, while "the "religionist in us fights against secular naivete—believing too little. And if this internal warfare weren't enough, we have a similar two-front war externally—against non-Mormons who think we LDS historians believe too much, and against super-Mormons who think we believe not enough."¹² Leonard's cautious approach to writing religious history—his willingness to give natural explana-

by Mormonism" (M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1929).

¹¹Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, ix.

¹²Leonard J. Arrington, "Reflections on the Founding and Purpose of the Mormon History Association, 1965-1983," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 101.

tions, his restrained religious voice, and his attempt to find a "middle ground" between the extremes of secular and religious feeling—became hallmarks of the new Mormon writing.

His career launched, Leonard came to regard himself not only as an individual scholar but as a "historical entrepreneur."¹³ This new role meant coordinating team efforts and often collaborating with graduate students and colleagues to produce a series of articles and monographs, mostly on western economic history. It also meant mentoring. Several Church authorities, impressed with Leonard's professionalism and LDS sympathy, urged Leonard to assist the rising generation of historical scholars.¹⁴

In 1965 Leonard played a leading role in organizing the Mormon History Association (MHA); he also served as its first president. The association was an outgrowth of informal discussion sessions that Leonard and other LDS historians had held at various regional and national professional meetings. Three years later, the MHA began to hold an annual meeting independent of other associations, and within fifteen years the MHA had between seven and eight hundred members, both Mormon and non-Mormons.¹⁵

As a "historical entrepreneur," Leonard also played a role in the reorganization of the LDS Church Historian's Office (CHO). In January 1966, President N. Eldon Tanner, a counselor in the First Presidency of the Church, interviewed Leonard about possible reforms at the CHO. Several years later, Leonard was a member of a committee of historians that advised the CHO to establish a continuing liaison with the historical community, to build a professional staff, to collect new material, to fund research grants for non-CHO personnel, and most important, to begin an ambitious, multivolume publishing program.¹⁶ These suggestions helped to address the growing concern that the Church Historian's Office was not meeting its scriptural obligation to keep "a record . . . among you" (D&C 21:1; 47:1; 69:2-3; 85:1). Since the publication of B. H. Roberts's multivolume *Compre-*

¹³Arrington, "Historian as Entrepreneur," 200.

¹⁴Arrington, "The Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department, 1972," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Fall 1992): 41-47.

¹⁵Between 1976 and 1991, MHA membership averaged 736, hitting a peak of 1,042 during the LDS sesquicentennial year of 1980. See Patricia Lyn Scott, James E. Crooks, and Sharon G. Pugsley, "'A Kinship of Interest': The Mormon History Association's Membership," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 155, 170.

¹⁶Impressed by Arrington, Tanner authorized the historian to regard his historical work as the "equivalent in importance to other major [church] assignments you have held." Qtd. in Arrington, "The Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department," 41-46.

hensive History of the Church in 1930, the CHO had not published new material. Nor had the CHO's policy of restricting access to its material encouraged nonaffiliated historians to write church history.

In January 1972, Leonard's role was greatly enlarged. In a precedent-breaking move, President Tanner, acting in behalf of the First Presidency, called Leonard to the office of LDS Church Historian, the first non-General Authority to serve in this position. "We are under obligation to write our history for the benefit of the generations to come, and we want it done in a thoroughly professional way," Tanner explained.¹⁷

At the time of his selection, Leonard was fifty-four years old. He had published widely and had served as president of the Agricultural History Society, Western History Association, and the Mormon History Association. Although his appointment was coupled with a half-time professorship at Brigham Young University, where he also served as director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, in future years his teaching and research duties would increasingly be displaced by overseeing the work of others. However, there was a compensating advantage: as Church Historian he could use the research and writing of his associates to enhance his own writing projects.

Embarking on his new assignment, Leonard once more tried to steer a middle course. In August 1972, he wrote in his diary:

As a result of yesterday's meeting with the First Presidency I have been thinking and praying about my calling as Church Historian. . . . On the one hand, I am the *Church* historian and must seek to build testimonies, spread the Word, build the Kingdom. On the other hand, I am called to be a *historian*, which means that I must earn the respect of professional historians. What I write must be craftsmanlike, credible, and of good quality. This means that I stand on two legs—the leg of faith and the leg of reason. . . . May the Lord bless me to be honest, frank, and fearless, when I must be honest, frank, and fearless; and may He bless me to be diplomatic and understanding when those qualities are required!¹⁸

Leonard's new assignment placed him in charge of the History Division, a newly created section of the renamed LDS Historical Department assigned the responsibility of writing history. Leonard and his superior at church headquarters, Elder Alvin R. Dyer, set high goals for the History Division, several of which had been discussed in previous conversations.¹⁹

¹⁷Ibid., 47-48.

¹⁸Leonard J. Arrington, Diary, 8 August 1972, copy in Leonard J. Arrington Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, used by permission. See also Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 94.

The program included publishing a sixteen-volume history of the Church that would mark Mormonism's 150-year anniversary in 1980. Leonard and Dyer also saw the need for a new one-volume treatment of Church history and proposed two different books: a narrative history designed for Church members and another, a topically arranged and analytical volume for more academically minded Mormons and non-Mormons. Other parts of the publishing program that soon emerged at the History Division included a "Heritage Series" featuring important diaries and documents; an oral history program; the publication of articles for scholarly journals and Church periodicals; and such miscellaneous projects as biographies of Church leaders, gender studies, local and regional history, and histories addressing "aspects of ordinary life."²⁰ It was, of course, an agenda for an entire generation of scholarship.

To meet these goals, Leonard chose two assistants who were active in the new history movement, James B. Allen and Davis Bitton. In addition, the History Division at its high tide had eleven, full-time "historical associates"—younger historians beginning their careers.²¹ Further expanding its resources, the History Division granted more than five dozen \$1,000 grants, many to men and women fresh from graduate school who produced a rich harvest of published articles and books.²²

During its ten-year history, the History Division completed an impressive tally of work. Its oral history program interviewed 800 people in almost 1,500 interviews. Edyth Romney transcribed 3,000 Church documents filling more than 50 volumes. The History Division staff wrote more than 350 articles, book chapters, and published reviews, 70 of which appeared in

¹⁹For an expression of Dyer's enthusiasm, see Alvin R. Dyer, "The Future of Church History," *Ensign* 2 (August 1972): 58-61.

²⁰"History Is Then—and Now: A Conversation with Leonard J. Arrington, Church Historian," *Ensign* 5 (July 1975): 8-13.

²¹These included Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Bruce D. Blumell, Jill Mulvay Derr, Ronald K. Esplin, Richard L. Jensen, Gordon Irving, Dean C. Jessee, Glen M. Leonard, Dean L. May, Carol Cornwall Madsen, D. Michael Quinn, Gene A. Sessions, and Ronald W. Walker. For a brief sketch of the History Division's associates, see the preface to *Celebrating the LDS Past: Essays Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the 1972 Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department's "History Division"* (Provo: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, 1992), xi-xv.

²²Even a partial list of "fellows" is impressive: Paul L. Anderson, Danel W. Bachman, Dale Beecher, Lowell C. (Ben) Bennion, Alfred L. Bush, Lawrence C. Coates, Rebecca Cornwall (Bartholomew), Richard O. Cowan, Eugene England, Peggy Fletcher (Stack), B. Carmon Hardy, Scott Kenney, John S. McCormick, Melodie Moench (Charles), Jill Mulvay (Derr), Max H. Parkin, Richard Sherlock, Susan Staker, David J. Whittaker, and Linda P. Wilcox.

Church periodicals.²³ Still more significant, the History Division published 20 books, several of major importance.

Leonard contributed in a major way to these History Division publications. He wrote or coauthored almost five dozen articles and eight monographs or books. Among the latter was *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), which he wrote based on an unpublished manuscript by the deceased Feramorz Y. Fox and with principal researcher and writer Dean L. May. The book clarified the Mormons' communitarian "united order movement" of the 1870s. Also, Leonard joined with collaborator Davis Bitton to write *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). Analytical and interested in themes and ideas, this book was designed for the academically minded Mormon and non-Mormon reader and, as such, displayed a sensitive ear to current academic trends. Its topically arranged chapters gave generous treatment to such themes as Mormon and Native American relations, to the history of LDS women, and to the cultural diverseness of nineteenth-century Mormon immigrants. It also spoke of the Church's "creative adjustment" and "reinvigoration" during the twentieth century. In short, here was a sophisticated and readable book that placed Mormonism in the mainstream of contemporary culture. It was religious history in the best sense of the phrase.

During his years at LDS headquarters, Leonard also completed several family commemorative biographies, some of which he had earlier begun at Utah State University. One of the best of these was *Charles C. Rich: Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), which gave the history of the LDS apostle who directed Church colonization in southern California and later in the Bear Lake region on the Utah-Idaho border. Two years later, Leonard followed this volume with *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Woolley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976). This book detailed the life of the long-standing bishop of Salt Lake City's Thirteenth Ward, one of the most prominent congregations of the pioneer era. Other commemorative biographies written by Leonard during the History Division era included books on Utah governor William Spry and industrialist David Eccles.²⁴

²³Arrington, "The Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department, 1972," 54-55; Arrington, "Historian as Entrepreneur," 207. Davis Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Autumn 1983): 20-33, lists the History Division's publications.

²⁴William L. Roper and Leonard J. Arrington, *William Spry: Man of Firmness, Governor of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and University of Utah Press, 1971) and Leonard J. Arrington, *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist*

Despite the outward success of the History Division, all was not well. Some General Authorities disapproved of the kind of history being produced at Church headquarters. In 1976, Ezra Taft Benson, president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, warned against humanizing Church leaders. Such an approach minimized God's ruling hand and undermined "our prophetic history," Benson thought. Moreover, Benson objected to the neutral language employed by some of the historians. Scholarly expressions like "experimental systems," "communal life," "communitarianism," and "Christian primitivism" seemed too unfamiliar to Mormon traditional history and possibly a violation of it.²⁵

Apostle Boyd K. Packer was also concerned with the History Division's writing. His address "'The Mantle is Far, Far Greater Than the Intellect'" cautioned historians about telling too much. Packer wanted a more sympathetic, spiritual, and partisan history. "We are at war with the adversary," he reminded Church members.²⁶ The views of Benson and Packer seemed to be supported by a widely circulated University of Utah honor's thesis written by Richard Marshall. Marshall saw the threat of "secularism" in such events as the organization of the Mormon History Association and the professionalism of the Historical Department.²⁷ While Marshall's analysis was preliminary and by no means sophisticated, it had the effect of confirming the growing doubts about the historical community.

As signs of disapproval accelerated, I recall almost a surreal atmosphere at History Divisions. Leonard, wishing to keep us younger historians on task and our morale at reasonable levels, tried to maintain an outward confidence. "We continue to hear good reports," he would tell us. "Our work is respected." Such declarations became increasingly threadbare in the face of the History Division's declining fortunes. A half dozen years into the enterprise, the staff was downsized. Arrington's scriptural title of Church Historian was exchanged for a more bureaucratic one. Still more

(Logan: Utah State University Press, 1975).

²⁵ Ezra Taft Benson, "God's Hand in Our Nation's History," *1976 Devotional Speeches of the Year* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 310, 313, and Ezra Taft Benson, *The Gospel Teacher and His Message* (Salt Lake City[?]: Church Educational System[?], 1976), 11-12. Benson's criticism was apparently aimed at passages in *Building the City of God* and *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, a book coauthored by James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard.

²⁶ Boyd K. Packer, "'The Mantle is Far, Far Greater than the Intellect,'" *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 264, 268.

²⁷ Richard Stephen Marshall, "The New Mormon History" (Senior honors project summary, University of Utah, 1977).

tellingly, the flagship sixteen-volume, sesquicentennial series that Leonard had boosted was canceled; Church leaders honored author contracts and gave permission for the outside publication of ongoing volumes, but they wanted no further connection with the project. In 1980, Leonard and a core of seven historians were administratively transferred to Brigham Young University, where we became members of the newly created Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History. Two years later in 1982, all of us maintained offices at BYU, and our physical move was complete. In a related move, administrators of the Historical Department Archives restricted access to the Church's collection and took steps to control the publication of past and ongoing research completed at the archives.²⁸

In announcing the transfer of the History Division's staff, Church president Spencer W. Kimball put the best face on the Church's decision. "The stature, objectivity, and effectiveness of our fine professional historians will be enhanced by association with the church's university," Kimball said.²⁹ It was true that BYU offered Leonard and the rest of us a more congenial home than Church headquarters with its ecclesiastical and public relations style of management. However, it was also true that the move indicated a longing on the part of many Church authorities for more traditional, faith-promoting history. "Our great experiment in Church-sponsored history has proved to be, if not a failure, at least not an unqualified success," the usually ebullient Leonard privately wrote. He was particularly distressed that the collapse of the History Division might renew the charge of critics that historical writing and faith were incompatible.³⁰ As always Arrington stood between two fires and felt the heat of each.

From 1980 to 1986, Leonard served as director of BYU's Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, retiring from the university in 1987. But his heart was not in it. Perhaps part of the problem was his distaste for driving from his home in Salt Lake City to Provo, particularly in winter. Whatever the reason, Leonard met his classes, maintained office hours, and directed the staff. But most of his energies went into writing, which was done at his Salt Lake City home.

The result was another crown jewel, Leonard's *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), the first full-scale, modern

²⁸For an insider's view, see Davis Bitton, "Ten Years in Camelot: A Personal Memoir," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16 (Autumn 1983): 9-33.

²⁹As qtd. in Arrington, "The Founding of the LDS Church Historical Department, 1972," 54.

³⁰Statement in my possession. See also Arrington, *Adventures of a Church Historian*, 149-50.

biography of Mormonism's second Church president. In writing this book, Leonard took advantage of the research that he and others had completed at the Church Historical Department. Already in hand were a series of articles, monographs, and edited works dealing with Young that were drawn from primary documents never previously used by historians.

The result was a historian's biography, full of detail, with an emphasis on Young's life and times. However, the book also sought to reveal Young's character. Navigating between the public opinion extremes of Young as saint and Young as sinner, Leonard found a man of complexity ("He shared with most public men the subtleties of policy that give every appearance of duplicity, yet he acted again and again in ways that could have been fueled only by deep sincerity"³¹). Using this formula, Leonard produced a favorable and sympathetic portrait of Mormonism's pioneer leader.

It earned him the prestigious David W. and Beatrice C. Evans Biography Award. It also secured him his third Mormon History Association Best Book award; the two previous ones were awarded to him and his coauthors for *Building the City of God* and *The Mormon Experience*. During his career, Leonard also received two MHA Best Article awards: "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 56-65, and, coauthored with John Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature," *Western Humanities Review* 22 (Summer 1968): 243-60. Moreover, Leonard received two honorary doctorates, the Utah State Historical Society's Distinguished Service Award, the Utah Council for the Humanities Governor's Award, and the appointment as Fellow to the Society of American Historians. These and a dozen and a half other awards made him the most honored Mormon historian of his generation.

His retirement from Brigham Young University did not slow his work. From 1987 to his death in 1999, not counting reissues of several earlier articles and books, Leonard wrote five encyclopedia articles, nineteen magazine articles, eighteen scholarly articles, and more than a half dozen books. These "post-retirement" books included a two-volume history of the state of Idaho and four biographies: Charles Redd, W. W. Clyde, Harold Silver, and Madelyn Cannon Stewart Silver. He was particularly pleased with the Madelyn Silver volume, which appeared only two and a half months before his death. ("One of the first major biographies of an LDS woman," he said enthusiastically.)

Perhaps the most important of his last books was his memoir, *Adventures of a Church Historian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998). Speak-

³¹Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, xvi.

ing as a historian whose life had come to embody the intellectual currents of his Church, Leonard produced a book larger than himself. It told the story of his life as a churchman, university teacher, administrator who worked with Church leaders and sometimes duelled with them, defender of historical movement that he came to lead, and chronicler of a troubled historiographical past.³²

Leonard will be remembered for his economic history of the LDS Church and the American West, but his influence was important in other areas, too: especially women's history, common people's history, and biography. And his influence will be extended by the large majority of younger writers in the field, who like me, felt Leonard's interest. While in some cases our historical approaches and interests became different than Leonard's, still, many of us, if unconsciously, sensed that our professional universe continued to revolve around Leonard. Whatever our differences, he was our mentor.

How will his legacy be viewed? It is only fair to say that, even in a commemorative essay such as this, at the end of his life, voices were being raised against his style of history. Mormon traditionalists, for example, had only grudging praise for his work and more often criticism. This growing conservative critique proceeded along several fronts. During the 1970s and 1980s, religious educators repeated the concerns of Elder Benson and Elder Packer, but because many of them isolated themselves by publishing in nonrefereed publications and by participating in professional groups of their own making, their voice was at the intellectual margins.³³

More substantive were conservative academics led by some BYU political scientists. In their view, the New Mormon History was a form of secularism; and to prove their point, they claimed that the New History

³²Before embarking on his memoir, Arrington produced several preliminary essays: "Historian as Entrepreneur," 193-209; "Recalling a Twin Falls Childhood," *Idaho Yesterdays* 25 (Winter 1982): 31-40; "Why I Am a Believer," *Sunstone* 10, no. 1 (1985): 36-38, and *A Soldier in North Africa and Italy, 1943-1946: A Pictorial History* (Salt Lake City: Historian's Press, 1995).

³³For an illustration and defense of this position, see Keith W. Perkins, "Why Are We Here in New England? A Personal View of Church History," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History*, edited by Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1988), 1-13. Also see Joe J. Christensen, "The Value of Church History and Historians: Some Personal Impressions," *Proceedings of the Church Education System Church History Symposium* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977): 12-17, and Robert Millet, "How Should Our Story Be Told?" in *To Be Learned Is Good, If . . .*, edited by Robert Millet (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 1-8.

authors were guilty of employing loose working assumptions that were drawn, perhaps unconsciously, from nineteenth-century positivism.³⁴ This criticism went beyond a debate about methods and philosophy. It implicitly sought to reestablish a faith story that in its most extreme form was an antihistorism.³⁵

The New Mormon History historians did not have to go beyond their own ranks to hear criticism. For example, historian Charles S. Peterson argued that the new history had proven to be a dead end. Despite its moderate spirit of "acquiescence and well-being," it had failed to gain the support of LDS leaders; it is true that not a single Mormon leader spoke publicly in its favor. Likewise, Peterson believed that it had failed to engage the interest of mainstream American historians—perhaps because the New Mormon History, despite Leonard's hope for moderation and the middle way, was "too defensive" and "assertive" and therefore, to some non-Mormons historians, too idiosyncratic. Without the support of the Mormon Church and isolated from its peers, the New Mormon History, Peterson argued, had failed as an important intellectual movement. He laid the blame on the book that began it, Leonard's *Great Basin Kingdom*. While acknow-

³⁴For a sampling of these critiques, see the work of David E. Bohn: "No Higher Ground: Objective History Is an Illusive Chimera," *Sunstone* 8 (May-June 1983): 26-32; "Our Own Agenda: A Critique of the Methodology of the New Mormon History," *Sunstone* 14 (June 1990): 45-49; "The Larger Issue," *Sunstone* 16 (February 1994): 45-63; and "Unfounded Claims and Impossible Expectations: A Critique of New Mormon History," in *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History*, edited by George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 227-61. Also see Neal W. Kramer, "Looking for God in History," *Sunstone* 8 (January-March 1983): 15-17; Gary F. Novak, "Naturalistic Assumptions and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 30 (Summer 1990): 23-40; Louis C. Midgley, "The Challenge of Historical Consciousness: Mormon History and the Encounter with Secular Modernity," in *By Study and Also by Faith*, edited by John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990): 2:502-51; M. Gerald Bradford, "The Case of the New Mormon History: Thomas G. Alexander and His Critics," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Winter 1988): 143-50.

³⁵The neotraditionalist criticism was weakened by a zest for controversy that at times seemed as personal as it was professional. Moreover, none of the neotraditionalists attempted to write history; and as a result, their criticism remained abstract and theoretical. On the few occasions that the critics cited books that they admired, historians were left wondering if a playful sense of irony was at work. See Kramer, "Looking for God in History," 15-17. On one item, however, the critics certainly erred: Neither Arrington nor most of the new Mormon historians advocated "scientific" or "objective history," a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century chimera long abandoned by the profession.

ledging the book's strengths, Peterson believed that it had created an "exceptionalist" history that in the long run had been self-defeating; following its example, New Mormon historians wrote "Mormon history" for Mormons instead of engaging a broader audience. Peterson exaggerated to make his point, claiming that *Great Basin Kingdom* began and ended the New Mormon History as an influential historical movement.³⁶

Another critic, Roger D. Launius, was concerned about the "ghettoization" of Mormon scholars. Like Peterson, Launius believed that Mormon studies had become too provincial and urged a new research agenda more in line with mainstream historical study—more work involving race, ethnicity, class, and gender and an avoidance of traditional Mormon topics that focused on Church origins, lineal development, and elites. Launius believed that, after more than forty years of writing, the New Mormon History was suffering a "deceleration" of energy and creativity and hoped that his recommendation might provide a new stimulus.³⁷

While we are too close to Leonard's career and to the writing of the New Mormon History to make final judgments about this criticism, some tentative remarks may be in order. No one could question the mass of the recent work. From the end of World War II to 1995, or about the time *Great Basin Kingdom* was issued to the present, historians of Mormonism wrote more than 100 unpublished reports and task papers; almost 1,000 honors theses and masters' theses; over 430 Ph.D. dissertations; almost 6,000 articles and chapters in books; and about 1,700 books. As important as the 9,000 titles written since 1950 was its quality. The New Mormon History enlarged and changed almost every topic of LDS history; and despite the reproaches of some critics, the best of it helped American regionalists and students of religion understand Mormonism better.

What lies ahead? At the time of Leonard's death, the New Mormon History remains full of energy and has the promise of much new writing. No doubt the next decade or two will continue the flow of articles and books

³⁶Charles S. Peterson, "Beyond the Problems of Exceptionalist History," in *Great Basin Kingdom Revisited: Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Thomas G. Alexander (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), 143, 148.

³⁷Roger D. Launius, "The 'New Social History' and the 'New Mormon History': Reflections on Recent Trends," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Spring 1994): 109-27. Also Roger D. Launius, "From Old to New Mormon History: Fawn Brodie and the Legacy of Scholarly Analysis of Mormonism," in *Reconsidering No Man Knows My History: Fawn M. Brodie and Joseph Smith in Retrospect*, edited by Newell G. Bringham (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996), 197-99, and Roger D. Launius, "Mormon Memory, Mormon Myth, and Mormon History," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (Spring 1995): esp. 23-24.

in Leonard's middle-way mold. Yet even with this prospect, the critics have a point. The New Mormon History has not captured a large audience and is not likely to; at the century's end, rank-and-file Mormons prefer historical fiction and popular film to the emotionally aloof history that is being written. Some of the new history writers, self-absorbed by their quest for roots, produce narrow and lifeless history. (Self-analysis and ennui are usually partners.) Moreover, the practitioners of the New Mormon History are "graying," to use Launius's phrase. New and midcareer historians are becoming few as young men and women, warned off by the collapse of the History Division, choose other careers and specialties. Who in the future will bear the historical standard?

So far, critics of the New Mormon History have been few and hesitant (most did not attack Leonard directly—it is hard to attack a community icon), but they may signal the beginning of the end of one intellectual movement and the start of something new. Perhaps as Leonard's generation passes from the scene, future historians will reflect the current two-fold criticism of the New Mormon History movement. On the one hand, we may have a more faithful, devout, less detached, even scriptural history—the kind suggested by the Church's conservative leaders and intellectuals. On the other hand, answering critics like Peterson and Launius, some future historians may also create a historiography more in line with mainstream American history writing: secular, hard-headed, professional, interdisciplinary, and multidimensional history that may have little appeal for most Church members. Still more likely, future writing will assume patterns that at the moment we cannot see.

Whatever the future, we can be certain about Leonard's influence. His work and the work of those whom he inspired left the Mormon historical landscape greatly enriched. His presence hovered over much of the recent work, providing many Church members with a past that reinforced their belief and faith. For them, Leonard helped make Mormonism intellectually respectable. For others, Leonard's work brought the discovery of heritage.

When Leonard died, the accolades were generous. Davis Bitton, his old History Division colleague, called him "the single most important historian of Utah and the Mormons in the 20th century," and added "there wasn't any [major historian] in the 19th century."³⁸ The Church-owned *Deseret News* ran an editorial that aimed at reconciliation and stressed his personal worth. "Arrington was a unique blend of a keen and inquisitive

³⁸Peggy Fletcher Stack, "Leonard Arrington, LDS Historian, Intellectual, Dies," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 February 1999, B-1, B-5.

mind, impeccable integrity and guileless sense of self and others," the newspaper said. He "never forgot his roots as an Idaho farm boy and maintained a refreshing, self-effacing manner and straightforward writing style. . . . His cheerful and animated demeanor earned him friends and admirers across bounds and borders."³⁹

My own view is similar, both about Leonard's gifts as a historian and his delight as a person. I have often thought he was best described by Wordsworth's "The Happy Warrior," although the poet's ideal man was too Victorian to fit Leonard properly. Still, other phrases of Wordsworth worked. Leonard was a "generous spirit" who labored "good on good to fix" and who owed to "virtue every triumph that he knows." And the poem's ending describes my friend as well as capturing a personal aspiration:

And, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause:
This is the happy warrior; this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be.

³⁹*Deseret News*, 17 February 1999, Internet version.

IN SEARCH OF EPHRAIM: TRADITIONAL MORMON CONCEPTIONS OF LINEAGE AND RACE

Armand L. Mauss

It is Ephraim that I have been searching for all the days of my preaching, and that is the blood that ran my veins when I embraced the gospel. —Brigham Young, 1855¹

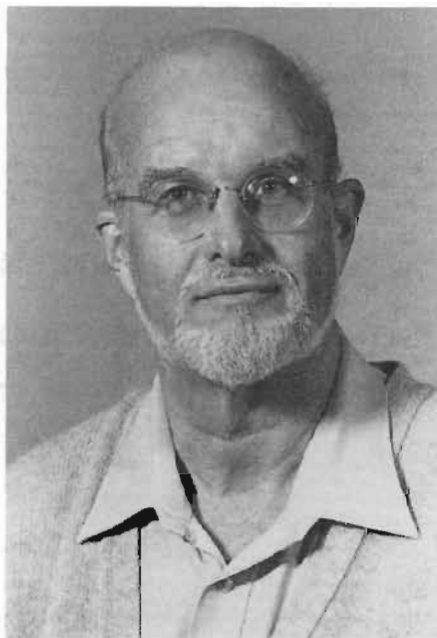
Ninety-nine out of every hundred of this people are descendants of Ephraim that have been scattered among the nations. —Wilford Woodruff, 1893²

ALTHOUGH NOT WELL KNOWN to non-Mormons, traditional LDS doctrine defines most of today's Mormons as literal descendants of one of

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¹Young, 8 April 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 2:268. All references to the *Journal of Discourses*, *Evening and the Morning Star*, *LDS Messenger and Advocate*, the *Millennial Star*, the *Times and Seasons*, and *Conference Reports* are cited from *LDS Collectors Library '97*, CD-ROM, 3rd ed., (Provo, Utah: Infobases, Inc., 1996). This version did not always retain correct page numbers from the original publications; but the dates, titles of articles, volume, and issue numbers have been checked against the originals. I am deeply grateful to my assistant Manfred Heim, who spent many hours doing key-word searches on this Infobase CD-ROM to identify citations.

²Woodruff, sermon to Relief Society and Young Ladies conference, Weber Stake, 13 December 1893, in Brian H. Stuy, comp. and ed., *Collected Discourses Delivered by Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve, and Others*, 5 vols. (Burbank, Calif.: BHS Publishing, 1987-1992), 3:424.



the twelve tribes of ancient Israel, usually that of Ephraim. This designation is, furthermore, part of an implied hierarchy of ancient lineages for various contemporary peoples, by divine plan, ranging from most favored to least favored. Descendants of Ephraim stand at the top, while descendants of Cain are least favored, having been, indeed, singled out for a special curse that prevented them from holding the priesthood until very recent times. Indigenous American Indian peoples, as descendants of both Manasseh and Ephraim, stand near the top in favored status, as do the Jews (descendants of Judah), who provided the lineage for the Messiah himself. Descendants of the remaining Israelite tribes, some of whom are scattered throughout the world, are apparently yet to be identified or to come forth as a distinct people before the return of the Messiah; they are nevertheless understood as enjoying favored lineages by virtue of sharing in the special covenant that God made with their ancestors Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Standing in a kind of neutral zone, somewhere after the Israelites but well above the descendants of Cain, are the “Gentiles,” whom God has been able to use for his purposes throughout history and who can, through their acceptance of the Messiah, be “grafted into” the covenant people of Israel.³

³Actually, the meaning of “Gentile” has had somewhat different meanings in

Paradoxically, these ideas have always existed side by side in Mormonism with the much more general Christian teaching that the Abrahamic covenant since Christ is efficacious, not through lineage per se, but rather through acceptance of the true gospel. By faithful adherence to that gospel, anyone of any lineage is spiritually grafted into the family of Abraham and given both the blessings and the responsibilities of the chosen people. With the passage of time, and especially in recent decades, authoritative Mormon discourse has placed less emphasis on the salience of literal lineage and increasing emphasis upon the potentially universal inclusiveness of God's ancient covenant with Abraham. As this change of emphasis continues, the logical paradox might eventually be resolved. After all, if embracing the gospel of Christ is all that really matters for full participation in the Abrahamic covenant, why should one's genetic lineage be given any salience whatever? Yet the earlier focus on the importance of literal Israelite lineage remains important in the thinking of many Mormons, seemingly as a residue of the racist interpretations of history once so common in America as well as in Europe. How and when did such ideas arise in early Mormonism? What was the course of their development? What purposes did they serve?

While racist thinking is clearly apparent in early Mormonism, as in early America more generally, I argue that the full-fledged racist framework of modern Mormonism emerged during the century after the arrival of the Saints in Utah.⁴ It was the product, furthermore, not of any particular revelation but of a social and intellectual movement among some of Mormonism's most powerful and articulate leaders. The public discourse of these leaders demonstrates that they synthesized or combined certain in-

Mormon history and remains rather ambiguous. Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 30. See also note 53.

⁴I use *racialist* rather than *racist*, because it emphasizes the salient, or even determinative, role played by race in human nature and destiny. *Racist* refers to explicit, invidious distinctions, prejudice, and discrimination based on attributions of race or racial characteristics. In practice, of course, the distinction might be rather moot, despite the neutral intentions of the racist, and both terms beg the question of how *race* should be defined, a very complicated, or even futile, matter in the history of the social sciences. A colleague has rightly questioned whether it is fair to use either term in reference to Joseph Smith's time, which, like much of the Old Testament, focused on lineage and not on race per se. Yet given the general cultural and intellectual context, even of the early nineteenth century, with its spreading Anglo-Saxon triumphalism and denigration of dark-skinned peoples, it seems appropriate to consider the earliest Mormon focus on lineage as at least proto-racist, whether intended or not.

terpretations of LDS scripture with two important influences from outside Mormonism: British Israelism and Anglo-Saxon triumphalism.⁵ In doing so, they contributed greatly to the emergent ethnic consciousness which Thomas F. O'Dea discovered in his study of the Mormons at midcentury.⁶ Their retrospective construction of a "chosen" lineage identity also enabled them to resist the growing national and international definition of Mormons as a despicable people. This study begins with a brief consideration of the religious and intellectual environment in which some of these ideas were to be found in embryonic form.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONTEXT

Joseph Smith's earliest teachings had much in common with the religious environment of their time and place.⁷ Protestantism both in England

⁵I gratefully acknowledge my debt to those whose work has stimulated my own thinking and research: James A. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), which ties some LDS ideas about Israelite lineage to the participation of certain Mormons in this racist movement; Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Bruce A. Van Orden, "Anglo-Israelism and the Mormon Church" (1981, unpublished but later presented at an annual conference of the Mormon History Association); and Arnold H. Green, "What Mormons Have Thought about, Inter Alia, the Jews" (1996). Green's paper, revised, appears in this issue of the *Journal*; my quotations are from the earlier version, with Green's permission. See also his "Jews in LDS Thought," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994-95): 137-63. I particularly appreciate Van Orden's and Green's kindness in sharing their work in progress with me.

⁶See my argument that Mormon "ethnic" consciousness has rapidly receded, and perhaps disappeared, since O'Dea's observations, in "Mormons as Ethnic: Variable Historical and International Implications of an Appealing Concept," *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, edited by Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990), 332-52, and my *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), chap. 5.

⁷This section draws from Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979); Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, esp. chaps. 1-2, and his "Millenarianism and the Early Mormon Mind," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 41-51; and Ronald Sanders, *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1978). In addition, my limited review of the primary literature includes the *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, N.Y.), 1825-30; *New York Herald*, 1835-1837; and Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews; or The Tribes of Israel in America . . .* (2d ed., 1825; Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1996, edited, with preface and introduction, by Charles D. Tate Jr.,

and in America had long been preoccupied with signs and expectations of the coming millennium. "America in the early nineteenth century was drunk on the millennium," declared historian Ernest Sandeen.⁸ Integral to preparation for the Lord's return was the gathering of Israel, which Joseph Smith and others believed was imminent. The return of the Jews to Palestine was just beginning; but the gathering of the rest of the scattered Israelites, or "lost ten tribes," presented many unresolved questions: Where were they? Were they all in one location or scattered around the world? Would they gather directly to Palestine or to some other location?⁹ Eventually, the ten tribes, sometimes collectively called "Ephraim,"¹⁰ would join the Jews in the same location, thus fulfilling the prophecy in Ezekiel 37 about joining the "sticks" of Judah and Ephraim in God's hand.¹¹ Meanwhile, the "Gentiles," to whom the true gospel had been given after Israel had rejected it in the time of Christ, now had a divine mission to find, convert, and gather Israel.¹²

1996). Even the secular press took millennial expectations quite seriously. See, for example, "Dr. Ely" of Philadelphia, "On the Restoration of the Israelites to Palestine," *Wayne Sentinel*, 15 January 1830, 2 (reprinted from the *New York Baptist Register*); and *New York Herald* (24 December 1836), 2, promoting a lecture series by Rabbi Mordecai M. Noah on "the peregrinations of the lost tribes of Israel" and Jewish antiquities discovered in the Western hemisphere. He urged gathering all Israelites to the Niagara River, since so many (the American Indians) were already in America. *Ibid.*, 3 nos. 1-3 (27 September, 4 and 11 October 1825).

⁸Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 30. He also documents (56-58), that British and American millennial enthusiasts were much in contact and shared the same general views, except perhaps for the American belief in their country's divine destiny. See also Klaus J. Hansen, "The Millennium, the West, and Race in the Antebellum American Mind," *Western Historical Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (October 1972): 373-90, who points to the "racially infused millennium" (378) and the "millennial destiny" associated with the American West.

⁹Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 31-35, 62-69, chaps. 1, 4; see also his review of Protestant sources, p. 177; Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium, and the Future of Israel* (Cambridge, Eng.: Clark, 1970); Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, chaps. 1-2; Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, 42-52. As Underwood makes clear, Mormonism has always seen Palestine as the gathering place for the Jews and America for the other Israelites.

¹⁰Like the Latter-day Saints, some Christians read the Old Testament as declaring the primacy of Ephraim over the other nine tribes that comprised the "kingdom of Israel" after the political division caused by Solomon's death. See e.g., Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, 178-82.

¹¹Mormons interpret this prophecy as referring to the united witness of the Bible and the Book of Mormon, a view which still retains the underlying Christian idea that these sticks were identified with the Jews and with Ephraim. Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, 34, 47, 191.

British Israelism

Some prominent scholars and clergy of the time identified the Native Americans as at least partly of these tribes.¹³ Others hypothesized that some of these lost Israelites (often generically called “Jews”) had invisibly mixed among the world’s inhabitants, having lost a knowledge of their genealogy.¹⁴ This hypothesis, in part, gave rise in late eighteenth-century Britain to the Christian Israelite movement, led by Joanna Southcott, whose adherents claimed literal Israelite descent. By the mid-nineteenth century, more than fifty such societies existed in England, and some members converted to Mormonism.¹⁵

In 1795, Richard Brothers, a self-proclaimed English prophet and millennialist loosely connected with the Christian Israelite movement, published *A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times*, which went through many subsequent editions, including eleven in the United States in only two years. He claimed his right to the throne of David by virtue of descent from

¹²For early Protestant understandings of alternating dispensations and the conversion of the Jews see Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, 9-13, 55-56, 68-69; Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, 43-46, 192. For Mormon examples, see *Journal of Discourses*: Wilford Woodruff, 12 June 1863, 10:220; Orson Pratt, 22 September 1872, 15:190-91; 25 January 1874, 16:352-53. Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 58-59, comments on contemporaneous but only symbolic definitions of British and American Christians as modern Israel.

¹³This is, of course, Ethan Smith’s main theme, and the sources he cites, most prominently James Adair and Elias Boudinot, show that theories about Indians as Israelites were already quite widespread; Hansen, “The Millennium, the West, and Race,” 380, dates the idea to at least the time of Cotton Mather. For examples of historical and archaeological “evidence,” see Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, chap. 3; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 133-38.

¹⁴My understanding relies largely on Harrison, Sandeen, and Underwood, already cited. The primary literature cited on this topic comes mainly from the research of Donald Bradley, done largely on my behalf. I am deeply indebted to him for sharing with me his work on the emergence of early literature claiming biblical and Israelite origins for Britain. With his permission, my next several paragraphs draw heavily upon parts of his “People of the Book: The Biblical Roots of the British and Mormon Identities,” summer 1997, Archive of Restoration Culture, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University. It was prepared along with other papers as part of a 1997 summer seminar under Professor Richard L. Bushman, whose auspices proved very helpful in getting us together.

¹⁵Harrison, *Second Coming*, 86-134, 147-48, 176-92; and Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 133-34. The Christian Israelite movement is mentioned in “Foreign News,” *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 4 (15 December 1840): 250-51; “Who Are the Christian Israelites?” *ibid.*, 6, no. 8 (1 May 1845): 887-88.

one of Jesus' brothers and asserted that he could identify individuals as literal if "invisible" Jews. This publication predicted that the Jews would return to Palestine in 1798 and claimed that many other Israelites were "concealed among the Gentiles" in various European countries.¹⁶ His last book, published in 1822, identified Saxon England as the gathering place for "the greater part of the ten tribes," not merely home to a few scattered remnants.¹⁷

Brothers's apparent disciple, John Wroe, began receiving his own revelations in 1819 and soon claimed to be Southcott's successor. He announced a divine commission to gather the descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh from among the British and restore them to their rightful position in the House of Israel, while Gentiles could be brought in by adoption.¹⁸ During the same general period, Ralph Wedgewood, also in England, interpreted biblical prophecies about Ephraim's destiny as being fulfilled by the British Empire; the Napoleonic Wars, among other signs, signaled the end of the times of the Gentiles, the restoration of Israel, and the return of the Messiah.¹⁹

Simultaneously, a generation before Joseph Smith, a sect called the New Israelites was founded by Nathaniel Wood, once a substantial and respectable citizen of Middletown, Vermont, fifty miles from the Smith family and ten miles from the Cowderys. Wood claimed that the time had

¹⁶Richard Brothers, *Revealed Knowledge* (1796 U.S. edition), 50, 139, 176-80; also his *An Exposition of the Trinity, with a Further Elucidation of the Twelfth Chapter of Daniel* (London: G. Ribeau, 1795), 26-29, 53; all as quoted in Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 40-48. See also Harrison, *Second Coming*, 61-62, 79-85.

¹⁷Brothers, *A Correct Account of the Invasion and Conquest of This Island by the Saxons, Etc., Necessary to be Known by the English Nation, the Descendants of the Greater Part of the Ten Tribes* (1822), copy at Pennsylvania State University library, as cited in Bradley, "People of the Book," note 57.

¹⁸Wroe, *Private Communications Given to John Wroe* (Wakefield, Eng.: John Wroe, 1845), 1-26, 39, 84, 85, 144, 188, as cited in Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 58-59. See also Harrison, *Second Coming*, 138-52, and Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 133-34.

¹⁹Wedgewood, *The Book of Remembrance, Proving the Accomplishment of Israel's Warfare, and that the British Empire is the Bow of Ephraim*, Vol. 1; and *The Book of Remembrance, The Outline of an Almanack Constructed on the Ancient Cycles of Time, Proving . . . That This is the Predicted Era of New Things, the Final Restitution of All Things, the Fulness of the Gentiles . . .*, Vol. 2 (both 1814). This description comes from A. B. Grimaldi, "History of the Rediscovery of Israel," *Watchman of Israel* 1 (July 1919): 193-96, a much later British-Israelist publication, since a search of U.S. libraries shows no copies in this country. See Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 49-52. See also Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, 5-9, for millennialist views of the Napoleonic wars.

come for the restoration of Israel and predicted that the apocalypse would come in 1801. He also discerned the Israelite tribal lineages of his disciples. For these and other heresies, he was eventually excommunicated from the Congregational Church and mobbed by some of his townsmen.²⁰

While these early exponents of British Israelism could not be considered mainstream thinkers of the time, neither were their ideas regarded as particularly far-fetched. As early as the ninth century, Saxon kings had traced their ancestry to Noah through an obscure fourth son of the patriarch supposedly born on the ark.²¹ Enthusiasts also introduced Davidic ancestry into the legends of King Arthur, while Tudor and Stuart kings claimed direct descent from David, Noah, and others.²² Popular literature too had long incorporated myths of biblical ancestors for the people of the British Isles.²³ Certain Puritans embraced the claim that they, and perhaps most of the British, were literally Israelites, while nearly

²⁰John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 57-58, 99-102, 357 note 12. See also D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 30-32, 84-97; Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, 21-22; Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, 71 and 212 note 91.

²¹Bradley, "People of the Book," note 9, citing, among others, Thomas D. Hill, "The Myth of the Ark-Born Son of Noe and the West-Saxon Genealogical Tables," *Harvard Theological Review* 80, no. 3 (1987): 379-83; Craig R. Davis, "Cultural Assimilation in the Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies," *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992): 123-36; and William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1970), 41-43.

²²Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 16-17, 29-31, cites Frank D. Reno, *The Historic King Arthur: Authenticating the Celtic Hero of Post-Roman Britain* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1996), 243-44, who cites the fourteenth-century John of Glastonbury; Barbara W. Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour* (New York: Washington Square, 1956), 12, 29; J. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends: King Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 15, 19; Geoffrey Ashe, *Camelot and the Vision of Albion* (London: Heinemann, 1971), 103; Roberta F. Brinkley, *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932), vii, 1-17; Craig R. Davis, *Beowulf and the Demise of the Germanic Legend in England* (New York: Garland, 1996), 2,3; and Charles B. Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round: A Study in the Contemporaneous Background for Spenser's Use of the Arthurian Legend* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932), esp. 128-34.

²³Sharon Turner, *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from their First Appearance above the Elbe to the Conquest of Egbert*, 4 vols. (London, 1799-1805 and several later editions); Bradley, "People of the Book," 107 note 19, p. 107 of the 1836 edition.

all Puritans accepted at least a figurative identification.²⁴ In popular imagination, and eventually even in the poetry of Romantics like William Blake, Britain became the site of the Garden of Eden and the land of the Biblical patriarchs, identified with the Druids.²⁵

A synthesis, and in many ways a culmination, of this emergent British Israelism appeared just as the Mormon missionary effort began to thrive in England. John F. Wilson, having popularized his ideas on the lecture circuit during the 1830s, published *Our Israelitish Origin* in 1840. This extraordinarily popular work went through many subsequent editions on both sides of the Atlantic.²⁶ Wilson followed Brothers in finding the origin of the Saxons in the "lost" ten tribes of Israel, starting with a "northward" migration after their Assyrian captivity. Like John Wroe, Wilson also found biblical passages indicating that the British (and perhaps other Europeans) were a people of mixed Gentile and Ephraimite descent. As descendants of Ephraim, the British were destined to bring about "the fulness of the Gentiles" and lead the gathering of Israel.

Anglo-Saxon Triumphalism

Even more pervasive than British Israelism was its secular counterpart: Anglo-Saxon triumphalism through inherent racial superiority.²⁷ Un-

²⁴Tuchman, *Bible and Sword*, 80-87; Albert M. Hyamson, "The Lost Tribes and the Influence of the Search for Them on the Return of the Jews to England," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 15 (1903): 667-74, both cited in Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 33-37.

²⁵Stuart Piggott, *The Druids* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 114 and his *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 61. See also Harrison, *Second Coming*, 80-81; Ruthven Todd, *Tracks in the Snow* (London: Grey Walls, 1946), 48-56, all cited in Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 20-21.

²⁶Wilson, *Our Israelitish Origin: Lectures on Ancient Israel and the Israelitish Origin of the Modern Nations of Europe* (Liverpool, 1840, and many subsequent editions). Citations here are to (London: Nisbet Co., 1844).

²⁷This information is not new to scholars, but I assume that most *Journal* readers will be less conversant with this ideological concept, long since repudiated. I draw from Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), esp. chap. 5; Forrest G. Wood, *The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century* (Boston, Mass.: Northeastern University Press, 1991); and Louis L. Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand Co., 1962), with representative historical documents. Snyder, incidentally finds no essential distinction between "racism" and "racialism" (7-11).

like British Israelism, Anglo-Saxonism was not merely the preoccupation of a relatively few sectarian enthusiasts; indeed, it was championed by many of the most influential intellectuals of the time. Although some versions recognized the hand of providence in Anglo-Saxon destiny, its main "evidence" lay in contemporaneous science. It was as though the intellectuals of the time, having spurned the myths of religion, constructed their own instead, for few of their "scientific" constructions have withstood scrutiny. Yet Anglo-Saxonism, like the more biblical British Israelism, offered impressive justification both for British imperialism and for America's doctrine of Manifest Destiny.²⁸

A romantic view of ancient Germanic peoples spread far in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, extending to the Scandinavians as well as the English, and eventually going "far beyond government and law to mythology, language, and race. . . . Ancient Scandinavia, like ancient Germany, was the home of free institutions . . . [and] throughout Europe a fresh literary dimension was . . . added to the existing emphasis on government and law among the primitive Germanic and Norse peoples."²⁹ One of the most influential European exponents of the Aryan or Nordic myth was Frenchman Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, who argued that all humankind could be classified into three races, white (Caucasian, Aryan), black (Hamitic), and yellow (Turkic and Mongol); that the Aryan was inherently superior; and that "blood" accounted for the main differences in civilization: "European peoples degenerate only in consequence of the various admixtures of blood which they undergo."³⁰

Some English proponents eschewed the general Nordic mystique, preferring to emphasize the glories of the Anglo-Saxon heritage in particu-

²⁸In its earliest forms, Anglo-Saxon glorification was less racial than cultural and institutional. During the Enlightenment, most intellectuals believed in a general human capacity for progress; differences among peoples were thus attributable less to race than to history and culture. To philosophers like Coke, Hobbes, and even Jefferson, their "ancestors had devised free political institutions over a thousand years before in England; and . . . even earlier [than that], a spirit of freedom had existed in the woods of Germany among the peoples from whom the Anglo-Saxons were descended." Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 24, citing Tacitus's *Germania*, a second-century Roman history. See also Snyder, *Idea of Racialism*, chap. 3.

²⁹Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 29. He also points out the widespread confusion about what peoples could properly be included as "Germanic" or "Anglo-Saxon."

³⁰Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, 48; Snyder discusses (46-53) Gobineau's connections to Richard Wagner and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and excerpts (127-30) Gobineau's "Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races" (1853).

lar.³¹ Sharon Turner's classic and formative *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799) provided raw material for many Romantics, especially Sir Walter Scott, whose novels achieved "unparalleled influence and success throughout Europe and the United States."³² Between 1814 and 1823, some 500 thousand copies were published and distributed throughout the United States, including the Palmyra area. For the Anglophile, "*Ivanhoe* was the supreme work. In this book, Scott inspired a whole generation with a vision of Saxon freedom and honesty. As a novelist, he was able to depict these attributes as a matter of individual and racial traits, rather than institutional excellence, . . . a story of virtuous flaxen-haired Saxon maidens and sturdy, blue-eyed Saxon yeomen."³³

This literary romanticism only repackaged the "scientific" racialism, expounded by scientists of all kinds and published regularly in elite periodicals and in philosophy and history monographs.³⁴ In the United States, historians like Francis Parkman and George Bancroft termed Anglo-Saxons and other Germanic peoples as carriers of the personal liberty concept; they also stressed the "Providential destiny" of Protestant Anglo-Saxons; and the mission of the American "race."³⁵ Thus, "the importance of race, of 'blood,' was assumed in a manner quite unlike that of a hundred years before."³⁶ The special American attraction to such ideas must be understood in large part in the context of intense encounters with seemingly "inferior" Native Americans and African slaves.³⁷ Again, it was the scholars and intellectuals,

³¹Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 38-39. The post-Bismarck geopolitical rivalry between England and Germany naturally decreased British willingness to acknowledge Nordic kinship with the Germans. Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, chaps. 4, 8-9, excerpted documents by Müller, Gobineau, Chamberlain, Selzer, Wagner, Rosenberg, and Gauch, demonstrating how this ideology, including anti-Semitism, developed from Bismarck to Hitler.

³²Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 39-41.

³³*Ibid.*, 40-41; see also 160-61. The Manchester lending library, five miles from the Smith farm in Palmyra, had some of Scott's works; *Ivanhoe*, however, is not among the titles listed. Erich Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 333-56.

³⁴Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 159; also chaps. 8-9.

³⁵Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, 87; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 183, refers to Bancroft's classic *History of the United States*.

³⁶Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 60; see also 157, 164; Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, 34-39.

³⁷Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 99-115, chaps. 7, 10; Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, 26-27, chap. 7; Hansen, "The Millennium, the West, and Race" citing Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore: University of Maryland Press, 1965).

both lay and clergy, whose work so often informed public opinion on such matters. The Reverend Josiah Priest, for example, some of whose early work was also available in Palmyra during Joseph Smith's time, eventually produced major works explaining the origins and inherent inferiority of both the "African race" and the "ancient peoples" of America.³⁸

While this Anglo-Saxon triumphalism had different exponents from those of British Israelism and was far more pervasive in its cultural impact, the two philosophies nevertheless have an obvious affinity; it is not surprising that they eventually combined in popular thinking. The elite clergy of the mid-nineteenth century were especially influential in synthesizing and propagating the two philosophical streams.³⁹ In so doing, they not only justified Manifest Destiny but explained the rise of Protestantism as evidence both of Nordic superiority and of divine commission; or, in Tuveson's words, their doctrine represented "the climax of the Protestant millennialist interpretation of the prophecies, combined with certain ethnic theories which seemed, as if providentially, to support it."⁴⁰ Herman

³⁸See Priest's 1843 work on biblical justifications for slavery, described briefly in Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, 69, and his 1833 work on American Indians, cited in Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester Library," 353 (and an earlier, apparently unrelated, work cited on 350). Note also Carlyle's 1849 essay on "the Nigger question," excerpted by Snyder, 134-35. One of the controversies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was whether the various "races" had had a common creation (monogenesis) or separate creations (polygenesis). See Snyder, *The Idea of Racialism*, 26-27, and Hansen, "The Millennium, the West, and Race," 380-83.

³⁹Such clerical proponents included Lyman Beecher, Horace Bushnell, Theodore Parker, Timothy Dwight, and Josiah Strong. Hansen, "The Millennium, the West, and Race," 376-78. Strong propounded a theory of spiritual and racial progress in three stages: the Incarnation, the Protestant Reformation, and the late nineteenth century, when the Anglo-Saxon race, culminating in American civilization, would, by divine commission, "prepare the way for the full coming of God's kingdom on earth." Quoted in Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 138; see also chap. 5. Included in this general ideology was a glorification of the Protestant Reformation, which, though begun in Germany, was most stoutly defended in England. After all, the common myth explained, a primitive form of Christianity had been established in ancient Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, thus trumping papal claims. *Ibid.*, 166-67. According to Theodore Parker, the Anglo-Saxons, in assuming this divine commission, exhibited several traits of the ancient Israelites, which qualified them as people of destiny: "hostility to other tribes, . . . great administrative power, . . . love of individual liberty, . . . [and] . . . love of order." New Englanders, in particular, were "the most spiritual . . . , the least materialistic, the most ideal, the most devout . . . [and] fired too with . . . duty to God and the destination before man" *Ibid.*, 153, 155.

Melville, not a theologian but certainly a religious thinker, expressed the same triumphalist combination of spiritual and racist thinking: "We Americans are the peculiar, chosen people—the Israel of our time; we bear the ark of the liberties of the world . . . God has predestinated, [and] mankind expects, great things from our race. . . . We are . . . the advance-guard . . . to break a new path in the New World that is ours. . . . At a period when other nations have but lisped, our deep voice is heard from afar."⁴¹ Such rhetoric about a vanguard of the chosen sent to the nations of the earth rings familiar to anyone who has read LDS general conference sermons from the time of Melville even to recent times.

EARLY LATTER-DAY SAINT UNDERSTANDINGS

Conceptualizations of British Israel, Anglo-Saxonism, or combinations were not only contemporaneous with the rise of Mormonism on both sides of the Atlantic; they were obviously part of Joseph Smith's social environment before and during his ministry. We cannot be sure whether, or how much, the Prophet's revelations and teachings were stimulated by, influenced by, or totally independent of this environment.⁴² We can at least say, however, that his teachings had much in common with some found in one or another school of American Protestantism. In some respects, however, Smith's teachings went beyond those which were generally accepted, among them the importance of literal Israelite lineage, especially from Ephraim, for those converted during the last days and charged with responsibility for the gathering. This early focus on a chosen lineage might not yet have been fully racist, since its salience was more theological than social; but as time went on the comparison with "nonchosen" lineages became increasingly invidious, as we shall see.⁴³

⁴⁰Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 138.

⁴¹Quoted in *ibid.*, 157-58, from Melville's *White Jacket, Or the World in a Man-of-War* (1859; reprint ed., London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 144. Melville himself (not one of his characters) calls for the U.S. Navy to adopt civilized innovations in military discipline befitting a pioneering nation; this passage is part of the chapter's concluding homily. It is possible, of course, that Melville is speaking ironically; even so, the passage is still a comment on contemporaneous American ideology.

⁴²See, for example, Richard L. Bushman, "The Visionary World of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 37, no. 1 (1997-98): 183-204, for a review of the historical context in which the Prophet sought and received his youthful visions. Sociologists have long recognized that a key determinant of success for new religious movements is their ability to combine the familiar with the novel in creative ways. Rodney Stark, "Why Religious Movements Succeed or Fail: A Revised General Model," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 11 (1996): 133-46.

The Early LDS Families as Israelites

In the early 1830s, references to modern Israelites in LDS discourse characterized them as “elect” and “chosen” in the traditional Protestant sense that their time in history had come to be gathered and restored as a mighty people.⁴⁴ To be sure, the young Prophet apparently recognized himself in 2 Nephi 3:6-15, a prophecy from the biblical Joseph about “a choice seer unto the fruit of my loins” (the Lamanites) bearing the same name (Joseph). The mission of the latter-day Joseph was part of the restoration of Israel promised in the last days (vv. 7-13); yet the title page presented the Book of Mormon as having come forth “by way of the Gentile,” in line with the general Protestant understanding of the time about the role of the Gentiles in the gathering process.⁴⁵ It is not clear whether, as early as 1830, young Joseph would have seen his own lineage simply as giving

⁴³Such ideas would presumably be included in what Jan Shipps, “Difference and Otherness: Mormonism and the American Religious Mainstream,” in *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, edited by Jonathan Sarna (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 81-109, sees as the “Hebraic dimension” of Mormonism, the second of three distinct “layers” that accumulated in the teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith during his lifetime (82-84). The first was a form of primitive Christianity and the third temple rituals and doctrines. See also Newell G. Bringhurst, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People within Mormonism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), 95-97, 129, for a brief discussion of the relation between the early Mormon beliefs in literal Israelite lineage and black African lineage; Melodie Moench, “Nineteenth-Century Mormons: The New Israel,” *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 42-54, for parallels between ancient Israelite and LDS self-conceptions. Contrast RLDS developments in Robert B. Madison, “Heirs According to the Promise: Observations on Ethnicity, Race, and Identity in Two Factions of Nineteenth-Century Mormonism,” *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 12 (1992): 66-82.

⁴⁴For example, W. W. Phelps, “Hosea, Chapter 3,” *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1, no. 2 (July 1832): 14: the Savior will “send his angels and gather his elect . . . Israel, the twelve tribes of Jacob.” Phelps, “Letter No. 9,” *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 10 (July 1835): 145, “the children of Israel, his chosen, his elect, were to be gathered from all the countries whither they had been scattered and driven for their transgressions, that they might come home to Zion in the last days.” See also Phelps’s articles: “The Tribe of Joseph,” *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 6 (November 1832): 41; “Israel will be Gathered,” *ibid.*, 2, no. 13 (June 1833): 101; “Letter No. 2,” *Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 3 (December 1834): 34.

⁴⁵Oliver Cowdery, “Letter V to W. W. Phelps,” *Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 6 (March 1835): 96, reports that Moroni instructed Smith: “In the last days, to fulfill the promises to the ancient prophets, when the Lord is to pour out his Spirit upon all flesh, he has determined to bring to light his gospel to the Gentiles, that it may go to the house of Israel.” This dispensational sequence, first to the Gentiles and then to Israel, was in accord with the general Protestant understanding of the time.

him a unique and personal tie to the Book of Mormon peoples in an otherwise Gentile nation, or whether he would have generalized that Israelite lineage to his entire family and neighbors.

In November 1831, a revelation proclaimed that the great gathering of Israel to Zion and Jerusalem had begun. Judah would flee to Jerusalem, while "they who are in the north countries shall . . . bring forth their rich treasures unto the children of Ephraim, my servants," then gathered in Zion, to be crowned with glory and receive "the blessing of the everlasting God upon the tribes of Israel, [with] the richer blessing upon the head of Ephraim and his fellows" (D&C 133:7, 12, 21, 26, 30-34).⁴⁶ By this time, therefore, Joseph Smith was clearly identifying the Church with the tribe of Ephraim.

Yet in making this identification, the revelation was not departing much from the Protestant concept of Ephraim as the collective term for the lost tribes; and the primacy of the tribe of Ephraim was already recognized in the Old Testament.⁴⁷ Nor does it appear that LDS preaching at this time gave much attention to the literal lineage of the Saints. William McLellin's six years of missionary journals, for example, ignore lineage even though he regularly emphasizes the gathering of Israel as harbinger of the millennium.⁴⁸

Little else in LDS scriptures ties either individuals or the Saints in general to literal Israelite lineage, although the Mormons, like the Protestants generally, often represented themselves symbolically as "Israel." Literal Ephraimite lineage is, however, mentioned in early patriarchal blessings. In unsystematic samples totaling several hundred of some of the very earliest and most revealing blessings, identification of lineage was not at first a common feature of these blessings; it appears only about a third of the time through 1836 and then about half the time through 1844. Father Smith seems to have mentioned lineage in only about half the blessings he gave to Church members.⁴⁹ Although few are available for scrutiny, unsys-

⁴⁶In September 1831, Doctrine and Covenants 64:35-36 had implied that Saints who were not "rebellious" were counted as possessing the "blood of Ephraim."

⁴⁷See, e.g., Ezekiel 37, Jeremiah 31; Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews*, chap. 2.

⁴⁸Jan Shippy and John W. Welch, *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies/Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). It should be remembered, however, that the journal entries are not verbatim texts of McLellin's sermons but only brief summaries.

⁴⁹Irene M. Bates, "The Transformation of Charisma in the Mormon Church: A History of the Office of Presiding Patriarch, 1833-1979" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1991), esp. chaps. 3, 5; Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), esp. chap. 2.

tematic samples of several hundred blessings given before 1844, show that identification of lineage appears only about a third of the time through 1836 and then about half of the time through Father Smith's death in 1842; this ratio does not change during the 1842-44 period in blessings given by his son Hyrum.⁵⁰ An important exception is Smith family blessings, in which the lineage of the biblical Joseph and his son Ephraim appear from the earliest blessings. When Joseph Jr. ordained his father presiding patriarch on 18 December 1833, he alluded to this lineage with the promise that the blessings of the ancient Joseph should "come upon [Father Smith's] head . . . and his seed after him." On the same day, the Prophet also blessed his close associate Oliver Cowdery, whom he then seems to have recognized, at least obliquely, as a fellow Israelite, who would share in the "blessings of the prophecy of Joseph . . . upon the seer of the last days and the scribe that should sit with him," an apparent allusion to 2 Nephi 3:18-19.

When Joseph Smith Sr. began giving official patriarchal blessings to his own family, the lineage tie was made much more explicit. In the blessing of his son Hyrum (who would become the first successor patriarch), on 9 December 1834, Father Smith declared that Hyrum was a "true descendant" of the ancient Joseph and that his "posterity shall be numbered with the house of Ephraim." A similar identification of lineage appears in the blessings given to his son Joseph (the Prophet) and to other family members on the same day. In my perusal of these documents, the 1835 blessings by the Presiding Patriarch to non-Smiths were less likely to specify the lineage of Ephraim. Joseph, Jacob, or Israel were the more likely identifications. After 1835 or 1836, however, the tendency was for Ephraim to predominate, as it does in modern patriarchal blessings.

In short, by 1835, a genealogical link between the Smith family and Joseph and Ephraim of old was well established and was being attributed to many other families. This development was entirely logical, since many of Mormonism's founding families were, in fact, kin in some degree. The Saints in general came increasingly to be described as literal descendants of Ephraim, called by the Holy Spirit out from among the Gentiles of America and Britain.⁵¹ In 1834, according to Edward Stevenson's recollec-

⁵⁰I am grateful for the assistance of Gregory A. Prince, who gave me copies of 131 early blessings, including some collected by Smith and Bates, who examined several hundred more for their book. See analysis and methodology covering a sample of 744 blessings from 1833 to 1980, in Irene M. Bates, "Patriarchal Blessings and the Routinization of Charisma," *Dialogue* 26, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 1-29. The observations which follow are based on the Prince-Smith-Bates collection.

⁵¹See, e.g., G. Homer Durham, ed., *Discourses of Wilford Woodruff* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1946), 104, 335-36.

tion a half-century later, the Prophet had observed, "There are thousands of good people in England and those old countries who are waiting for the fullness of the gospel, and it will not be long before they will flock to Zion, for Ephraim dwells largely in those parts." He expressed the same idea to Isaac Galland in 1839.⁵² By 1844, Joseph Smith and his associates expansively suggested that Israelite remnants could be found on the isles of the sea and perhaps even Tibet.⁵³

Believing Blood

In 1833, W. W. Phelps used the phrase "blood of Israel" to refer to those who were ready for the Lord's coming; but it is not clear whether he

⁵²"Autobiography of Edward Stevenson," in *They Knew the Prophet*, compiled by Hyrum L. Andrus and Helen Mae Andrus (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), 85-86; Joseph Smith, Jr., et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902-12, Vol. 7 published 1932), 4:8-9; both cited by Bradley, "People of the Book," notes 73-74. Daniel H. Ludlow, "Joseph Smith Memorial Sermon" Logan LDS Institute, 16 January 1977, 15, claims that Joseph Smith dispatched missionaries to England in 1837, sixteen months after receiving the keys of the gathering "because the Lord told Joseph Smith that that land was rich with the blood of Israel." Heber C. Kimball also apparently believed that ancient prophets had visited the British Isles. Derek A. Cuthbert, "Church Growth in the British Isles, 1937-1987," *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 20. That early missionary success in England fostered Anglo-Israelism among the Saints, especially after Nauvoo, is also a possibility. Regardless of which came first, the circular dynamic, once established, had unquestioned energy.

⁵³"The Gathering," *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 3 (1 February 1844): 426. Early LDS discourse is ambiguous about whether the Saints should be understood as "Gentiles" vis-à-vis the Lamanites and Jews and whether it matters, in the final analysis, who has literal Ephraimite or Israelite lineage. Green, "What Mormons Have Thought," 5-19, analyzes the doctrinal tension between gospel universalism (Rom. 4:12-13; Gal. 3:7-9, 27-29; Eph. 2:11-20) vs. lineage primacy throughout LDS history. See Sidney Rigdon, "The Gospel, No. V, cont.," *Messenger and Advocate* 1, no. 5 (February 1835): 73; "The Gospel, IV," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 4 (15 December 1840): 245-46; Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses*, 7 January 1855, 2:295; 15 July 1855, 9:177; George Q. Cannon, 12 January 1890, in Stuy, *Collected Discourses*, 2:4-5; Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses*, 7 January 1855, 2:295; 15 July 1855, 9:177; 7 February 1875, 17:300-302; 18 July 1875, 18:64-65, 166; 26 August 1876, 18:225-26; Underwood *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*, chap. 5; Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (1837; 9th edition, Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1874); Warren Cowdery, *Messenger and Advocate* 3, no. 12 (September 1837): 567-68; Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992) and his, "Some Problems with Supercessionism in Mormon Thought," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994-95): 125-36; Underwood [review], *ibid.*, 111-124; Green, "What Mormons Have Thought," 37-39.

intended “blood” literally or even in reference to any particular lineage.⁵⁴ Nineteenth-century people often saw inherited traits, even spiritual ones, as borne “in the blood,” and references to blood and bloodlines linger today, even with a modern understanding of genetics. Like many of his contemporaries, including the Anglo-Saxon triumphalists, Joseph Smith took literally the relationship between lineage and blood, declaring:

[The Holy Ghost] is more powerful in expanding the mind, enlightening the understanding, and storing the intellect with present knowledge [in] a man who is of the literal seed of Abraham than [in] one who is a Gentile, though it may not have half as much visible effect on the body. For as the Holy Ghost falls upon one of the literal seed of Abraham, it is calm and serene, and his whole soul and body are only exercised by the pure spirit of intelligence; while the effect of the Holy Ghost upon a Gentile is to purge out the old blood and make him actually the seed of Abraham. That man [who] has none of the blood of Abraham [naturally] must have a new creation by the Holy Ghost. In such a case, there may be more of a powerful effect upon the body, and visible to the eye, than upon an Israelite, while the Israelite at first might be far before the Gentile in pure intelligence.⁵⁵

After Joseph Smith’s death, some, including Parley P. Pratt, argued that “the blood of Israel” had special, even exclusive, rights to the priesthood: “No man can hold the keys of the Priesthood or of Apostleship . . . unless he is a literal descendant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.”⁵⁶ Brigham Young claimed that this transformation of blood was accompanied by “fits” and “spasms” and hypothesized: “Take a family of ten children, for instance, and you will find nine of them purely of the Gentile stock, and one son or one daughter in that family who is purely of the Blood of Ephraim. It was in the veins of the father or mother, and was reproduced in the son or daugh-

⁵⁴Phelps, “The Times,” *Evening and Morning Star* 1, no. 10 (March 1833): 77.

⁵⁵27 June 1839, *History of the Church* 3:380. The quotation was reconstructed from Willard Richards’s notes on the sermon. See Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds, *The Words of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 4. Interestingly, John A. Widtsoe, apostle and biological scientist, paraphrased this statement less graphically: “Any person who accepts the gospel of Jesus Christ becomes the seed of Abraham. A subtle change occurs in the very physical system of the man, which makes him indeed one who belongs to the family of Abraham.” *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 1950 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 36; hereafter cited as *Conference Report* by date.

⁵⁶“Mt. Lebanon, Etc.,” *Times and Seasons* 6, no. 20 (1 January 1846): 1,081; Pratt, 10 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses* 1:261.

ter, while all the rest of the family are Gentiles.”⁵⁷ Possessing such blood conferred intellectual and spiritual capacity, and made conversion a natural consequence, as though sheep were hearing the voice of the shepherd.

During Joseph Smith’s lifetime, then, the general understanding of Israelite lineage might be summarized as follows: God is in the process of gathering lost Israel, his chosen people, in preparation for the Lord’s second coming. The Jews, as remnants of the ancient kingdom of Judah, will be gathered to Palestine. The rest of Israel will be gathered to America under the auspices of the tribe of Ephraim, historically the governing tribe of the ancient kingdom of Israel, although the Lamanites as descendants of Manasseh also have a special claim to primacy. Converts may come from any lineage; but conversion will be serene for those with the blood of Israel while Gentiles must experience a physical purging of blood to share fully in the birthright blessings, like priesthood, promised to Israel.

EARLY UTAH: EPHRAIM AS PREMORTAL AND NORDIC

After the arrival of the Saints in Utah, their understanding of their origin and destiny as Israelites and Ephraimites began a process of expansion that lasted well into the twentieth century. Part of this development made explicit what was probably implicit in Joseph Smith’s time, but it also included genuine doctrinal innovations. One new element in authoritative discourse, beginning in the 1850s, was assigning a premortal background to Israelite origins: Saints had been selected in premortal life to enter mortality through Israelite (especially Ephraimite) lineage as a people of “royal” blood. A second element, now more fully articulated, was that this royal Israelite blood, by divine design, was concentrated in the British Isles and northwestern Europe, explaining the missionary success in those areas. This second idea, the Ephraimite origins of Nordic peoples, increasingly borrowed supporting concepts from British Israelism and Anglo-Saxon triumphalism.

This emerging construction of LDS identity contrasted sharply with the increasingly negative public image of Mormons; but calumny and persecution had always been the unhappy lot of the chosen seed in every dispensation and thus served as additional evidence of divine favor and mission. “When I see the feeling of hatred that is manifested toward us,” declared Wilford Woodruff in 1880, “to me it is the strongest evidence that this is the work of God. Why? Because we have been chosen out of the world and therefore the world hates us. . . . Here we are a handful of people chosen out of some twelve or fourteen hundred millions of people, and my faith

⁵⁷Young, 8 April 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 2:268-69.

in regard to this matter is that before we were born . . . we were chosen to come forth in this day and generation and do the work which God has designed should be done."⁵⁸ As tensions with the United States increased in the late nineteenth century, the doctrine of Israelite lineage brought increased assurance of the Saints' unique spiritual status, an excellent example of a socially constructed identity.

The Social Construction of Ethnic Identity

From a sociological point of view, the development of this racialist and ethnic framework can be understood as a collective or social construction of a favorable historical identity by a people increasingly under political and cultural attack from a dominant surrounding society.⁵⁹ This process

⁵⁸Woodruff, 3 July 1880, *Journal of Discourses* 21:193; see also 26 June 1881, *ibid.*, 22:233, George Q. Cannon, 16 November 1884, *ibid.*, 25:362; and Joseph F. Smith, *Juvenile Instructor* 39 (August 1904): 464, as quoted in his *Gospel Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1919), 340.

⁵⁹For the main sociological works on constructed identity, see Richard D. Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1967); Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (New York: Tavistock, 1985); Debra Friedman and Doug McAdam, "Collective Identity and Action: Networks, Choices, and the Life of a Social Movement," *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by A. D. Morris and C. M. Mueller (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 156-73; William Gamson, "The Social Psychology of Collective Action," *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, 53-76; Michael Hechter, *Principles of Group Solidarity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996); Joane Nagel, "The Political Construction of Ethnicity," *Competitive Ethnic Relations*, edited by Susan Olzak and Joane Nagel (New York: Academic Press, 1986), 93-112; Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," *Social Problems* 41 no. 1 (February 1994): 152-76; Francois Nielsen, "Toward a Theory of Ethnic Solidarity in Modern Societies," *American Sociological Review* 50 (April 1985): 133-49; Susan Olzak, "Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983), edited by Ralph H. Turner and James F. Short, Jr., 355-74; Susan Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992); W. Peter Robinson, ed., *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel* (Oxford, Eng.: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996); Eugene E. Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989); Morris Rosenberg, *Conceiving the Self* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Henri Tajfel,

has many counterparts worldwide, including the Afrocentrism movement among black intellectuals in the United States since the 1960s.⁶⁰ Our self-concepts are typically derived, shared, and validated from our most salient reference groups. We therefore seek favorable definitions, not only of ourselves as individuals from our reference groups, but also for our own reference groups vis-à-vis outside groups. Laboratory research on group formation has demonstrated that even when individuals are arbitrarily assigned to groups of total strangers, they will soon begin making "us" and "them" comparisons.⁶¹ This consciousness is greatly strengthened to the extent that group members perceive competition, power differentials, conflict, and persecution between and among groups.

Jonathan Hill observes, "To successfully resist ongoing systems of domination, racial or ethnic stereotyping, and cultural hegemony, the first necessity of disempowered peoples, or of marginalized subcultural groups within a national society, is that of constructing a shared understanding of the historical past that enables them to understand their present conditions as a result of their own ways of making history." Max Weber had already noted that ethnic groups can "entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration. . . . It does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists."⁶² According to Eugene Roosens, a contemporary Belgian anthropologist:

The ethnic "past" is always a subjective reconstruction. . . . Strong ethnic feelings need not be based on a strong "objective" cultural continuity. . . . Those who identify with an ethnic category . . . can find psychological security in this identification, a feeling of belonging, a certainty that one knows one's origin, that one can live on in the younger

Human Groups and Social Categories (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Mary Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁶⁰Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity*, discusses the construction of ethnic identity among Native Americans, Quebecois, the Aymara of Bolivia, whites in Zaire, and various groups in Belgium. On Afrocentrism in the United States, see Molefi Kete Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987) and *Afrocentricity* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988); Talmadge Anderson, ed., *Black Studies: Theory, Method, and Cultural Perspectives* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1990).

⁶¹John C. Turner, "Henri Tajfel: An Introduction," in Robinson, *Social Groups and Identities*, 1-23.

⁶²Hill, *History, Power, and Identity*, 17; Weber quoted in Alba, *Ethnic Identity*, 16.

generation. . . . One can commit oneself to "a cause," fulfill oneself, realize oneself to be unique . . . as a member of an ethnic group, and irreducible from the outside to something else. . . . [The precise] "historical and cultural realities" or historical data . . . have no importance . . . from a psychological perspective.⁶³

Such a shared construction of the past thus provides a basis for internal pride, solidarity, loyalty, and mobilization.

Furthermore, the greater the number of roles or institutions through which a people can express the same identity (e.g., family, church, politics, etc.), the more durable and motivating that identity is for the individual. External pressure, denigration, or persecution upon such a group might make members of the group feel insecure, but a likely result of such insecurity will be increased mutual dependence within the group and a determination to prevail by resisting and changing the objective situation to one in which "group members can envisage a future [where] they are no longer subordinated, . . . render[ing] their present situation contingent, . . . [and] mak[ing] action for change a realistic option." In other words, since "group members desire positive social identity, then a tension arises when they discover themselves to be negatively defined in relation to other groups. It is this tension which provides the dynamic for change."⁶⁴ The "dynamic for change" for the Mormon community would include missionizing and many kinds of mobilization in the common interest.

The collective construction of lineage or ethnic identity involves what Schwalbe calls "identity work." This includes "mythopoetic discourse" and "all the acts of signification and interpretation used to shape the meaning of an identity shared by members of a group."⁶⁵ Discourse is an important form of such identity work:

Talk and writing are not merely *about* actions, events, and situations; they are *creative of* those actions, events, and situations. . . . In talking, people are constituting their social realities and collective cultures, manufacturing and constructing their lives, and are themselves manufactured as personalities and subjects in the process. Through this negotiation, the social world becomes populated with characters which are given certain attributes . . . Social life in this way is in no sense separate from the words. . . . Discourse comes to constitute social life as we know it."⁶⁶

⁶³Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity*, 16-17, 152.

⁶⁴Stephen Reicher, "Social Identity and Social Change: Rethinking the Context of Social Psychology," in Robinson, *Social Groups and Identities*, 323, 322.

⁶⁵Michael Schwalbe, *Unlocking the Iron Cage: The Men's Movement, Gender Politics, and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 105.

Examples of such "identity work" in creating and maintaining Mormon ethnic and lineage identity will become clear as we now review two doctrinal developments in official and authoritative LDS discourse: locating an Israelite identity in the premortal existence, and identifying Ephraim with Anglo-Saxons and other Germanic peoples.

Israel in the Premortal Existence

During the earliest years of the restoration, the Saints, like contemporary Protestants, understood *foreordination* and *predestination* to refer to plans in God's mind, not to the conscious, individual premortal existence of humankind that is the contemporary Mormon understanding. This early interpretation covered such passages as "chosen us in him before the foundation of the world" (Eph. 1:4), "according to the foreknowledge of God" (1 Pet. 1:2), and priests "called and prepared from the foundation of the world, according to the foreknowledge of God" (Alma 13:3).⁶⁷ As late as 1835, Sidney Rigdon cited Ephesians 1:4 in support of the doctrine that all people, of whatever lineage, would be blessed like the "seed of Abraham" through Christ, having been "chosen to be sons of God in Christ" in accordance with "what God had *purposed in Himself* before the foundation of the world."⁶⁸ Doctrine and Covenants 29:4, received in September 1830, referred to the Saints as a people chosen *out of* the world, not before the world was formed.⁶⁹ After his work on the Book of Abraham in the late 1830s, how-

⁶⁶Margaret Wetherell, "Constructing Social Identities: The Individual/Social Binary in Henri Tajfel's Social Psychology," in Robinson, *Social Groups and Identities*, 281; emphasis mine. See also Sik Hung Ng, "Power: An Essay in Honour of Henri Tajfel," *ibid.*, 191-214.

⁶⁷Charles R. Harrell, "The Development of the Doctrine of Preexistence, 1830-1844," *BYU Studies* 28, no. 2 (1988): 75-96; Blake Ostler, "The Idea of Preexistence in the Development of Mormon Thought," *Dialogue* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 59-78; Gordon Irving, "The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830s," *BYU Studies* 13 no. 4 (1973): 473-88.

⁶⁸Rigdon, "The Gospel, No. V, cont.," 73; emphasis mine.

⁶⁹Modern readers benefitting by later doctrinal developments might read Doctrine and Covenants 93:23-33 (May 1833) as referring to an independent, conscious, premortal existence for humankind and the passage might indeed represent a step in such a doctrinal direction. However, Harrell, "Development of the Doctrine of Pre-Existence," 82-83, explains that the Prophet and the earliest Saints probably understood such a passage as referring simply to "spirits [being] derived from the same divine light or spirit that constitutes God's glory." In contrast, Ostler, "The Idea of Pre-Existence," sees the same passage as referring to "ideal" preexistence—a spiritual creation in God's mind. Neither scholar sees the passage as referring to the kind of premortal existence with agency described later in the Book of Abraham.

ever, Joseph Smith understood that conscious spirits or “intelligences,” with individual identities and personal qualities, had existed in the presence of God before their mortal existence (Abr. 3:22-28). It is not clear how widely he had disseminated this doctrine before the serialized 1842 publication of the Book of Abraham in the *Times and Seasons*; but in 1839 he spoke of the Saints as “called and chosen of God, according to the purposes of His will, from before the foundation of the world.” Although the language is still conventionally Protestant, the content could have alluded to premortal life.⁷⁰

Before his death in 1844, Joseph Smith began explicitly to refer to the preexistence as a time when the spirits were “organized,” voluntarily accepting both the plan of salvation and the “limits and bounds” (presumably geographical) of their future life on earth.⁷¹ On 12 May 1844 in a Sunday sermon, Smith declared, “Every man who has a calling to minister to the inhabitants of this world was ordained to that very purpose in the Grand Council of Heaven before this world was; I suppose that I was ordained to this very office in that Grand Council.”⁷² At least from the 1840s onward, then, LDS discourse interpreted scriptural passages about the preexistence as referring to a conscious premortal individual existence, not merely to a design in God’s mind.

The record leaves unclear whether Joseph Smith saw the preexistence as a time when entire categories of spirits (not just individuals) could be set apart for designated lineages. It is clear, however, that many of those who led the Church in Utah inferred such lineage foreordination from Joseph Smith’s teachings. Orson Pratt gave the idea an overtly racial connotation when he declared in 1852:

I have already told you that the spirits of men and women all had a previous existence . . . in the presence of God . . . [and that] among them [were] many spirits . . . more noble, more intelligent than others . . . reserved until the dispensation of the fullness of times to come forth upon the face of the earth, through a noble parentage that shall train their young and tender minds in the truths of eternity . . . that they may be Prophets, Priests, and Kings to the Most High God. . . . Yes, and among the Saints is the most likely place for these spirits to take their tabernacles . . . according to the laws which the Lord ordained before they were born. . . . The Lord has not kept them in store for five or six thousand years past, and kept them waiting for their bodies all this time, to send them

⁷⁰Joseph Fielding Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 137.

⁷¹Harrell, “Development of the Doctrine of Preexistence,” 86-88.

⁷²Ehat and Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith*, 368-69.

among the Hottentots, the African negroes, the idolatrous Hindoos, or any other of the fallen nations that dwell upon the face of this earth.⁷³

Brigham Young declared in 1859 that God had selected the entire lineage between Abraham and Joseph Smith and had "watched that family and that blood as it has circulated from its fountain to the birth of that man [Smith]."⁷⁴ Showing the combined influence of British Israelism and Anglo-Saxon triumphalism, Young also declared:

The sons of Ephraim are wild and uncultivated. . . . The spirit in them is turbulent and resolute; they are the Anglo-Saxon race, and they are upon the face of the whole earth, bearing the spirit of rule and dictation, to go forth from conquering to conquer. . . . I see a congregation of them before me today. No hardship will discourage these men. . . . They will penetrate the deepest wilds and overcome almost insurmountable difficulties . . . to further their indomitable spirit for adventure.⁷⁵

Erastus Snow expansively applied foreordination to the entire lineage of Ephraim: "The Lord has sent noble spirits into the world to perform a special work. . . . Such were called and chosen and elected of God to perform a certain work at a certain time of the world's history. . . . And so he elected the seed of Ephraim to be that peculiar people I have referred to, that holy nation."⁷⁶

The doctrine that the Saints were royal Israelites, chosen and foreordained in the preexistence, was developed most fully by the next generation of LDS leaders. In 1905, Apostle Orson F. Whitney assured the Saints that they were

a chosen race of spirits, called upon the earth the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but known to us to have been . . . chosen in the heavens before they came in the flesh . . . sent forth from God with a mission. . . .

⁷³Orson Pratt, 29 August 1852, *Journal of Discourses* 1:62-63; see also his serialized "The Pre-existence of Man," *The Seer* 1, nos. 2-9 (February-September 1853). By this time, but not earlier, Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt were citing individual status during the war in heaven in connection with some premortal spirits being assigned to Cain's lineage. Lester E. Bush, Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," in *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church*, edited by Lester E. Bush, Jr., and Armand L. Mauss (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1984), 53-129, esp. 72 and notes 93-96.

⁷⁴Young, 9 October 1859, *Journal of Discourses* 7:289-90; see also, *ibid.*: Parley P. Pratt, 10 April 1853, 1:261-63; Orson Hyde, 6 October 1854, 2:82; Wilford Woodruff 8 October 1875, 18:127.

⁷⁵Young, 31 May 1863, *Journal of Discourses* 10:188; 8 July 1863, 232. See also Young, 7 February 1858, *ibid.*, 6:193-94.

⁷⁶Snow, 6 May 1882, *ibid.*, 23:184-85.

[W]e are a branch of the house of Israel, gathered out from among the Gentiles, . . . a portion of that martyred nation, chosen of God and sent upon the earth to suffer and endure for His sake and for the sake of all mankind, . . . a preexistent race, ordained before the world was, to perform [a] great and important mission, the gathered children of Ephraim.⁷⁷

A generation later, Apostle Melvin J. Ballard assured the Saints that, as descendants of ancient Joseph, they were "chosen spirits before they were born . . . held . . . in reserve to come forth at the right time"; Rulon S. Wells told them that they were "chosen in that primeval day to come through . . . the lineage of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob . . . to carry the gospel to all the inhabitants of the earth . . . that the honest in heart among every nation shall be gathered into the fold of Christ and brought under the new and everlasting covenant."⁷⁸ Such discourse continued to mid-century. In 1931, Joseph Fielding Smith synthesized it with elements of British Israelism, and Anglo-Saxon triumphalism in his *The Way to Perfection*.

Israel in Britain and the Nordic Countries

As discussed above, widely circulated theories in England and in America attributed either Israelite ancestry, Aryan ancestry, or both, to certain so-called Nordic peoples, especially the Anglo-Saxons. It seems unlikely that the early Saints did not come in contact with such theories; but it was only after the publication of John L. Wilson's *Our Israelitish Origin* (1840), that LDS discourse began to mention the common destiny of the Northern Europeans and the Latter-day Saints.⁷⁹ Probably reinforced by missionary success in England, the concept was made explicit in a series of articles by George Reynolds that ran through 1878 (vol. 40) in the *Millennial Star*. This series was published as a booklet well into the twentieth century.⁸⁰

⁷⁷Whitney, *Conference Report*, October 1905, 91.

⁷⁸Ballard, *Conference Report*, October 1924, 28; Wells, *ibid.*, 41-42. Ballard was commenting in passing on an article in a national magazine entitled, "Are the Jews the Chosen People of God?" and seemed to take the position that Joseph's descendants had replaced Judah's as the "chosen people of God." Anti-Semites circulated this idea widely at the time, though it is doubtful that Ballard meant it pejoratively. For anti-Semitism within British Israelism, see Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, chap. 3, and within Mormon British Israelism, Eric Michael Tabeling, "Anglo-Israelism and Some Historical Notes on the Restoration," *Restoration* 4 (July 1985): 9-10, published periodically by Steven L. Shields.

⁷⁹"Letter from Parley P. Pratt to Editor," *Messenger and Advocate* 2, no. 8 (1 May 1836): 318; "Foreign News," *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 4 (15 December 1840): 250-51, contain references to the Aitkenites, Irvingites, and Southcottians.

⁸⁰As is obvious from Green's "What Mormons Have Thought," 20-28 and

Reynolds essentially combines British Israelism and Anglo-Saxonist triumphalism, beginning with familiar Old Testament and Book of Mormon prophecies about the destiny of Israel, especially the tribe of Ephraim. Important for his argument are Brigham Young's 1855 sermon (note 1); and Joseph Smith's contemporaries: John Wilson, chief codifier and exponent of British Israelism (note 26); Edward Hine, a prominent Wilson disciple; and Sharon Turner, the author of the *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (note 32).⁸¹ Reynolds also assembles scriptural, apocryphal, mythological, archaeological, historical, and philological "evidence" to argue that (1) the route of the lost ten tribes can be traced from their Assyrian captivity to Europe; (2) although the exact location and identity of those tribes are not yet known, numerous parallels in language and customs strongly suggest that the Anglo-Saxons and neighboring peoples are Israelites; (3) Ephraim has numerous descendants in the British Isles and in the Nordic countries, perhaps constituting, indeed, the majority of their populations; (4) wherever Israelite descendants are found (potentially anywhere on earth), they are particularly responsive to the restored gospel; and (5) LDS missionary success in the British Isles and in Scandinavia is a natural consequence.⁸²

Reynolds identifies distinguishing traits of Anglo-Ephraim peoples. Some are of dubious merit (e.g., "stubborn, impetuous, proud, warlike," rebellious, and backsliding), while others are more gratifying to their modern descendants (e.g. "great enterprise and force of character," vitality, and a natural penchant for limited monarchy, constitutional law, and representative government).⁸³ There are clear parallels, not only to Brigham Young's equation of the "wild and turbulent" Ephraimites with Anglo-Sax-

notes 56-71, the *Millennial Star* from the 1870s on published many essays on the destinies of various kinds of Israelites, including Jews, Lamanites, Ephraimites, and others. The following quotations from Reynolds, *Are We of Israel?* (Salt Lake City: Perry & Co., 1883), are from the seventh edition (n.d. but ca. 1950s, bound with a treatise by Reynolds on the authenticity of the Book of Abraham). Reynolds, who served for several years as Brigham Young's secretary and as the polygamy test case in *U.S. v. Reynolds* (1879), became a member of the First Council of Seventy in 1890.

⁸¹Reynolds, *Are We of Israel?* 28, 37-39, 44, 48-49. Edward Hine (1825-91), a disciple of Wilson, published *The English and American Nation Identified with the Lost House of Israel* (London and New York: 1871). Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, chaps. 1-2, assesses their influence on the British Israelist movement.

⁸²Reynolds, *Are We of Israel?* 11-13, 19, 24, 32-36, 43-49.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 11, 15, 23, 46. See also George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon*, 7 vols., compiled and edited by Philip C. Reynolds (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1955-68), e.g., 1:75, 2:360.

ons (note 75), but also with Wilson's description of Anglo-Saxons as "fitted for universality, and especially for being the teachers of the world."⁸⁴

Erastus Snow was apparently influenced by Reynolds in his assertion:

Remnants of the seed of Ephraim . . . were scattered from Palestine . . . and thence made their way into the north of Europe, western Scandinavia, and northern Germany, penetrating Scotland and England, . . . conquering those nations and reigning as monarchs of Great Britain, and mingling their seed with the Anglo-Saxon race . . . Their blood has permeated European society, and it coursed in the veins of the early colonists of America. . . . [W]hen the books shall be opened and the lineage of all men is known, it will be found that they have been first and foremost in everything noble among men in the various nations, breaking off the shackles of kingcraft and priestcraft and oppression of every kind, and the foremost . . . in upholding and maintaining the principles of liberty and freedom upon this continent, . . . and thus preparing the way for the coming forth of the fulness of the everlasting Gospel.⁸⁵

In an 1890 discourse, George Q. Cannon declared that Israelites could be found, not only among the American Indians and Polynesians, but also "throughout Great Britain and Ireland, . . . the Scandinavian nations, . . . and the Germanic races . . . [where] their readiness to receive the Gospel . . . bears witness of the fact that they are of Israel."⁸⁶ B. H. Roberts, still later, noted that "our mission has had little success among the Latin races of southern Europe," but also cited missionary success in northern Europe as evidence that the tribe of Ephraim "from the British Isles, from Germany, from the Scandinavian countries, . . . [is] gathered by the gospel message."⁸⁷ The earlier concept that the "blood of Israel" could potentially be found

⁸⁴John L. Wilson, *Our Israelitish Origin*, 233, quoted by Van Orden, "Anglo-Israelism," 3.

⁸⁵Snow, 6 May 1882, *Journal of Discourses* 23:185-86.

⁸⁶Cannon, 12 January 1890, in Stuy, *Collected Discourses*, 2:4-5; see Cannon, 16 November 1884, *Journal of Discourses* 25:361-62.

When missionary success tapered off, lineage theory likewise provided an explanation: The blood of Israel had been successfully gathered. See Franklin D. Richards, *Conference Report*, October 1898, 33; Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840-1900," *BYU Studies* 27 no. 2 (Spring, 1987): 34; Bruce A. Van Orden, "The Decline in Convert Baptisms and Member Emigration from the British Mission after 1870," *ibid.*, 97-105.

⁸⁷B. H. Roberts, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1907-12), 2:483. Because of World War I, Serge F. Ballif, probably a mission president, reassured the Saints three times that Germans still had "the blood of Israel in their veins." *Conference Report*, April 1917, 119; October 1920, 90; April 1923, 96.

anywhere on earth now coexisted with and was partly eclipsed by a strong Anglophilia into the twentieth century.

From Nordic Racialism to Modern American Racism

Like much of the world, U.S. society accepted racist interpretations of the past and future by the turn of the century. A strong Nativist movement, and even some elements of the Progressive movement, had injected various forms of racism into mainstream American politics. The more overt and pernicious expressions included bigotry against African Americans and Asian Americans, and anti-Semitism as well. As the twentieth century unfolded, the Ku Klux Klan gained increasing respectability, even infiltrating powerful centers of politics in American life. Films like *The Birth of a Nation* reinforced negative stereotypes about African Americans, and cowboy Westerns popularized the view that the “only good Indian is a dead Indian.”⁸⁸

Simultaneously, a powerful eugenics movement focused on preventing dilution of the superior American “breed,” while 1920s restrictive legislation limited immigration from places outside northern Europe and prevented naturalization of immigrants from Asia. This was the environment in which Mormonism entered its powerful Americanization phase. It is not surprising to find an elective affinity in Utah with the nation’s racist thinking. Of course, Mormons were Americans with a difference. On the one hand, the Mormon doctrine of premortal existence provided a special justification, not available to other Americans, for racist understandings; on the other hand, Mormons eschewed the nation’s anti-Semitism and foresaw an optimistic destiny for Native Americans.

Yet the link between Latter-day Saints and Israel through Anglo-Saxon and Nordic heritage was strengthened in both popular and official LDS thinking during the early twentieth century.⁸⁹ For example, Andrew Jenson, Assistant Church Historian, spoke on British-Israelist themes in several general conference addresses. In 1913, he claimed that the Anglo-

⁸⁸Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (1943; reprinted, New York: Capricorn Books, 1960).

⁸⁹See the following *Conference Reports*: Seymour B. Young, October 1906, 93; Nephi L. Pratt, *ibid.*, 104; Andrew Jenson, April 1913, 80-81; and Charles W. Penrose, October 1922, 30. According to Van Orden “Anglo-Israelism and the Mormon Church,” 12, Apostles James E. Talmage, Joseph Fielding Smith, Bruce R. McConkie, and others also quoted Reynolds approvingly on British Israelism. The tendency to see Nordics as Israelites seems to have a counterpart in popular LDS illustrations, which depict Jesus, his disciples, and the Nephites more like Vikings than like Mediterranean Semites.

Saxon nations were "the banner-bearers today of liberty and equal rights of men." Then he declared:

We are of Israel; there is no doubt of it, and we will find that when our genealogy is revealed in detail, it will lead us back from America to England, from England to Scandinavia and Germany, and from there to the country lying between the Caspian and Black Sea, that part of Asia where the Ten Tribes were lost. . . . I rejoice that so many faithful men and women have believed and embraced the gospel. . . . We have not had success among Latin or Oriental races. . . . There may be some of the blood of Israel among them, but so far we have discovered very little.⁹⁰

Institutional support for British Israelism came from the Genealogical Society of Utah and the Church Historian's Office. Anthony W. Ivins, First Counselor in the First Presidency and director of the Genealogical Society of Utah (1921-34), spoke approvingly of "the British-Israel movement . . . sponsored by many of the great scholars and statesmen of Great Britain." He cited various folklore sources ascribing a Hebrew origin to the "British race." He made similar remarks during the 1929 general conference.⁹¹ Archibald F. Bennett, ardent genealogist and executive secretary of the Genealogical Society, was an influential advocate for similar ideas in the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* and in his book, *Saviors on Mount Zion*. For example, he declared flatly, "Ephraimites are the Anglo-Saxon race."⁹² The same magazine carried regular articles by Andrew Jensen and Joseph Fielding Smith with allusions to the same idea.

James H. Anderson, executive secretary of the Genealogical Society for its first forty years (1894-1934) and, during two decades of the same period, a member of the YMMIA General Board, is less well-remembered.⁹³

⁹⁰Jensen, *Conference Report*, April 1913, 80-81; see also his addresses in *ibid.*, April 1925, 111; April 1930, 151.

⁹¹Ivins, *ibid.*, October 1926, 17-18; October 1929, 99.

⁹²Bennett, "The Children of Ephraim," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 21 (April 1930): 67-85; see also Bennett, *Saviors on Mount Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1950), 15-17, 57, 144, 200-203.

⁹³I have condensed this paragraph from Van Orden, "Anglo-Israelism and the Mormon Church," 15-18, who identifies (19-20) other British Israelist authors who were popular in Utah during the 1930s and 1940s. I would compare Anderson's influence during the 1920s and 1930s to that of W. Cleon Skousen during the 1950s-70s. Neither was a General Authority, but both had large grassroots followings. See James H. Anderson, *The Present Time and Prophecy* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1933), and his *God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1937). Since Anderson died in 1934, the second book is a later edition of an earlier work. Organized by Howard Rand in the 1930s, the

Nevertheless, Anderson published regularly in LDS periodicals, spoke at Tabernacle events, and spoke on LDS radio broadcasts. Deseret News Press published two of his books. Anderson embraced the British Israelism movement, praised the work of the Anglo-Israel Federation of America, and quoted from its periodical, *Destiny*. He espoused its anti-Semitism (including anti-Zionism), its anti-Catholicism, and its call for criminal sanctions against miscegenation to preserve the racial purity of the Anglo-Saxons. A prominent follower of Anderson, Earl W. Harmer, also borrowed materials from *Destiny* in glorifying Anglo-Saxon history and supremacy; he asserted, for instance, that Joseph Smith, as "racially an Anglo-Saxon," was rightfully a "claimant to the leadership of the birthright, Ephraim."⁹⁴

In short, British-Israelist and Anglo-Saxonist ideas, having originated outside Mormonism, nevertheless became familiar elements in official and unofficial LDS literature from the 1880s through the 1920s, as articulated by leaders such as Erastus Snow, George Reynolds, Charles W. Penrose, Anthony W. Ivins, Andrew Jenson, Archibald F. Bennett, Melvin J. Ballard, and Joseph Fielding Smith in the *Journal of Discourses*, the *Millennial Star*, the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, the *Deseret News*, and various books.⁹⁵

Joseph Fielding Smith's influence on racist thinking among Mormons was especially important from the time he became an apostle (1910) up to about mid-century. He was an articulate and outspoken apostle with

Anglo-Israel Federation of America provided an important link between British Israelism and the modern Christian Identity movement. Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, chap. 3.

⁹⁴Quoted in Green, "What Mormons Have Thought," 27. Harmer's *Joseph Smith and Our Destiny: A Brief Historical Outline of God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), obviously relied on Anderson's 1937 book, even in the title. "Joseph Smith" was dropped from Harmer's title in subsequent editions.

⁹⁵See Green, "What Mormons Have Thought," 67 note 70. Ballard, *Conference Report*, April 1938, 43, praised "the investigations of the British Israel movement, which seeks to establish the fact that the founders of the British Empire were . . . descendants of Joseph. They give some very good evidences." Apostle John A. Widtsoe, *Improvement Era*, January 1939, reprinted in *Evidences and Reconciliations*, compiled by G. Homer Durham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 406-7, commended the "notable British-Israel movement," in explaining the "ready acceptance of the gospel by the British, Scandinavian, and German peoples." Deseret Book republished Widtsoe's work in 1954. However, Widtsoe also expressed impatience with efforts to locate the lost tribes and reservations in reviewing Anderson's *God's Covenant Race*. Widtsoe, *Improvement Era*, April 1938, 227, as cited in Van Orden, "Anglo-Israelism and the Mormon Church," 19.

a “royal” LDS “bloodline” of his own as Joseph F. Smith’s son and Hyrum Smith’s grandson. He was an assistant Church Historian, then Church Historian (1921-70), while retaining close ties to the Genealogical Society. He was widely regarded as the ultimate authority on doctrinal and historical questions and for several years, published “Answers to Gospel Questions,” in the monthly *Improvement Era*.⁹⁶ After decades as a senior apostle, he served as president of the Church from early 1970 until his death in mid-1971. His 1931 book *The Way to Perfection*, (obviously influenced by his father’s *Gospel Doctrine*) is still considered an LDS classic and widely available to LDS readers.⁹⁷

Joseph Fielding Smith occasionally referred to some British-Israelism tenets with seeming approval but had his greatest influence in his comprehensive rationalization and codification of the disparate elements of LDS racist teachings that had accumulated up to his time.⁹⁸ I would summarize those teachings as follows: In premortal life, we, as God’s spirit children, had our agency to follow him with varying degrees of obedience, just as we do in mortal life. We also acquired and developed certain talents and aptitudes, just as we do here. Those aptitudes included intelligence, spirituality, and leadership ability, as well as special talents in music, art, and science. God assigned each of us, with our concurrence, to come into mortal life at specific times and places throughout history. These assignments were made partly on the basis of divine strategy and partly on the basis of individual merit in spiritual, intellectual, or leadership accomplishments in the preexistence. In addition to specific assignments to individuals (like prophets), whole categories of spirits were assigned to certain mortal lineages, based on premortal merit or its lack. The most meritorious spirits were born through the lineage of Ephraim, although other Israelite or even Abrahamic lineages betoken similar preexistent merit. The least meritorious were descendants of Cain through Noah’s son Ham. These different lineages have played different roles in history and have different destinies. The destiny and responsibility of the chosen people, the Israelites, and particularly the “birthright tribe” of Ephraim, is to lead the world to a higher spiritual threshold through conversion to Christ and through administering the or-

⁹⁶This essay quotes the compilation, Joseph Fielding Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957-66).

⁹⁷Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Utah Genealogical Society, 1931), with numerous subsequent editions. This paper quotes the 9th ed. (Deseret Book Co., 1951).

⁹⁸He cited Reynolds’s *Are We of Israel?* in *The Way to Perfection*, 138-39, and *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 2:55.

dinances of the priesthood—the modern manifestation of God’s covenant with Abraham’s descendants.⁹⁹

According to Joseph Fielding Smith, we can generally infer the pre-mortal merit of a given lineage from its level of civilization and from how closely its people resemble Anglo-Saxons. People of Israelite lineage are found mostly but not exclusively in Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries. Yet in scattering Israel centuries ago, God not only punished its unfaithfulness but simultaneously blessed all other nations by “leavening” their heritage with the “blood of Israel,” according to the Abrahamic covenant. It is up to the missionaries to search out the “believing blood” of scattered Israelites and gather them to Zion. Those gathered first are primarily of the tribe of Ephraim, fulfilling prophecy about that tribe’s primacy and special sensitivity to the gospel.

Converted non-Israelites are grafted on to the Israelite “olive tree.” However, their blood must be literally and physically changed during the conversion process. Another possible physical change is that converted Lamanites will become lighter in color. Thus, although the gospel and the Abrahamic covenant are ultimately universal, the lineage of Ephraim in particular and of Abraham in general will always be special to God as the “birthright” lineage on which he most depends.

Within this general context, Joseph Fielding Smith also formulated the rationale for denying the priesthood to blacks, as the “lineage of Cain and Ham.”¹⁰⁰ Here again he was a codifier and systematizer, rather than an innovator, for diverse LDS attitudes and policies toward blacks had been evolving ever since the 1830s. Yet it was during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that the exclusionary policy and its supporting rationale took final form, led in large part by Joseph F. Smith, who headed the Church from 1901 to 1918.¹⁰¹ The books of Moses and Abraham, canonized only in 1879, were now available for use in justifying the exclusionary priesthood

⁹⁹I have distilled this summary from Joseph Fielding Smith’s writings: *The Way to Perfection*, chaps. 7-8, esp. 42-51, 129-30; *Conference Report*, October 1944, 111; his *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols., comp. by Bruce R. McConkie (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-56), 3:246-53; and *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 1:141; 2:55; 3:62-63; 4:40; 5:138-39.

¹⁰⁰Smith, *The Way to Perfection*, chaps. 7, 15-16; see also his “The Negro and the Priesthood,” *Improvement Era* 27 (April 1924): 564-65, and “Salvation for the Dead,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 17 (1926): 154.

¹⁰¹Lester E. Bush, Jr., “Mormonism’s Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview,” *Dialogue* 8 (Spring, 1973): 11-68, emphasizes the importance of 1880-1920 for the formulation of the “Negro doctrine” or policy and Joseph F. Smith’s role.

policy; a construction of premortal life was available to explain the differential status and merit of different lineages on earth; and an entire second generation of Church leaders assumed that Joseph Smith had revealed the priesthood policy toward blacks. Joseph Fielding Smith simply codified the consensus of Church leaders on the black issue, a consensus expressed officially in a 1949 First Presidency letter.¹⁰²

While the manifest racism against blacks in LDS discourse during this period is the most obvious and troubling to the modern mind, a thoughtful reading of references to other lineages reveals further expressions of racism. It is difficult to avoid the implication of generalized racism in Joseph Fielding Smith's statements that the Lord selects "choice spirits to come through the better grade of nations" or "less worthy spirits [to] come through less favored lineage," an arrangement that "account[s], in very large part, for the various grades of color and degrees of intelligence we find in the earth."¹⁰³ Similar implications can be seen in Smith's declaration that the Lord "reserved the right to send into the world a chosen lineage . . . entitled to special favors based upon premortal obedience. . . a special race [with] peculiar covenants and obligations, which other nations would not keep, [and which] had the effect of segregating this race from other races."¹⁰⁴

President Smith's ideas were not unique. It is likely that nearly all of the General Authorities up to midcentury shared his views. (See note 118.) Furthermore, my own surveys of Latter-day Saints in the 1960s show that Smith's ideas were widely accepted then among the Mormon rank and file. Seventy-eight percent of the Saints in Salt Lake City and 62 percent of those in San Francisco agreed with the statement, "Most Latter-day Saints are literal descendants of one or more of the ancient Israelite tribes." Those in agreement, furthermore, were far more likely than those who demurred, to agree with a later statement that "God's chosen people" today are the Latter-day Saints.¹⁰⁵ In addition, half of the Salt Lake City Saints and a third

¹⁰²"First Presidency Statement, August 17, 1949," quoted in Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black*, 221.

¹⁰³Smith, *The Way to Perfection*, 42, 48.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 129-30. The context here refers to ancient Israel, but it seems fair to infer that Smith intended a more general meaning.

¹⁰⁵See Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive*, chap. 3, and Appendix, for the methods and data in these surveys. On the question about Mormons as literal Israelites, 65 percent in Salt Lake City and 46 percent in San Francisco agreed that the statement was "definitely true," while an additional 13 percent (SLC) and 16 percent (SF) found it "probably true." The "chosen people" statement permitted respondents to choose one or more of the following answers: Jews, Christians,

of those in San Francisco agreed that "because of the wickedness of Cain and other forefathers of the Negroes, these people carry the mark of a black skin and the curse of perpetual inferiority."¹⁰⁶

MODERN PERIOD: EPHRAIM'S UNIVERSAL

Since about 1950, Mormon discourse reflects diminishing concern with claims of literal Israelite or Nordic ancestry for the Latter-day Saints. In America, at least, Mormons no longer need to escape pariah status by claiming a high place in a divinely prescribed rank-ordering of the world's civilizations. The LDS Church is now far less concerned with its Hebraic past and far more concerned with establishing its Christian legitimacy before the world. Its contemporary discourse emphasizes more than ever traditional Christian inclusiveness. It calls its converts to come, not to "the mountains of Ephraim to dwell," but to "come unto Christ."¹⁰⁷ All who do so are "Abraham's children," whether by literal lineage or by adoption.¹⁰⁸

Americans, Latter-day Saints, none in particular, and don't know. The breakdowns were 39 percent (SLC) who identified Mormons exclusively as God's chosen people, 9 percent who named LDS and Jews, 21 percent who named LDS and another combination, and 22 percent (none in particular). In San Francisco, the corresponding figures were 23 percent (LDS only), 7 percent (LDS and Jews), 17 percent (LDS plus others), and 40 percent (none). Thus, a majority of the sample of Mormons in both cities (but especially in Utah) regarded themselves as God's chosen people, either exclusively or with others. The majorities were even larger among those who *also* regarded Latter-day Saints as literal descendants of Israel.

¹⁰⁶In the Salt Lake City sample, 37 percent thought the statement about Negroes was "definitely true," while an additional 15 percent said "probably true" (total 52 percent). Corresponding figures in San Francisco were 23 percent and 11 percent (total 34 percent). These responses showed more polarization between Utah and California samples than did the "LDS are Israelites" statement.

¹⁰⁷Cyrus H. Wheelock (1813-94), "Ye Elders of Israel," still retained in *Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1985), no. 319. See, for example, conference talks in the May 1997 *Ensign*: Richard G. Scott, "Jesus Christ, Our Redeemer," 53-59; Alejandra Hernandez (Young Women's meeting), "Draw Nearer to Christ," 90; from the November 1997 *Ensign*: Neal A. Maxwell, "Apply the Atoning Blood of Christ," 22-24; Robert D. Hales, "In Remembrance of Jesus," 24-26; J. Kent Jolley, "Universal Application of the Gospel," 80-81; and from the May 1998 *Ensign*: Gordon B. Hinckley, "We Bear Witness of him," 4-6; Richard E. Cook, "Christ Can Change Human Behavior," 28-29; Margaret D. Nadauld, "Come Unto Christ," 64-65; Neal A. Maxwell, "Hope Through the Atonement of Jesus Christ," 61-63.

¹⁰⁸Racist references of any kind are virtually nonexistent at this stage of Church discourse. Rather, the emphasis lies upon our common origin as children of God. For example, President Howard W. Hunter "All Are Alike Unto God,"

For modern Mormons, as for other Christians, the blood of Christ has more theological importance than the blood of Israel.

The change in discourse has, however, occurred in stages. The most important development in the first third of the twentieth century was a growing number of locations around the world where Ephraim's descendants could be found. Mission presidents and General Authorities who had invested their time and energy in various countries began to testify in general conferences that the "blood of Ephraim" or the "blood of Israel" was strongly represented, not only in northern Europe and among American Indians, but also in Mexico and South America, in southern and eastern Europe, in Russia, in Asia, in New Zealand, and in various exotic Pacific islands.

Of course, the idea that the "Lamanites" were of Israelite descent was already well established in Mormonism, but emphasizing that descent for Latin America seems to have increased greatly in frequency starting in the twentieth century with the addition of new missions in that part of the hemisphere.¹⁰⁹ As early as 1901, Anthony W. Ivins estimated that from

Ensign, June 1979, 72-74, declared that neither race, color, nor nationality make any difference, for "we are all of one blood and the literal spirit offspring of our eternal Heavenly Father." The gospel message stands "squarely against all stifling traditions based on race, language, and economic or political standing . . . or cultural background." See also Hunter, "The Gospel—A Global Faith," November 1991, 18-19. First Presidency counselor James E. Faust, "Heirs to the Kingdom of God," *Ensign*, May 1995, 61-63, observed that in his experience, "no race or class seems superior to any other in spirituality and faithfulness." LDS Institute instructor S. Michael Wilcox, "The Abraham Covenant," *Ensign*, January 1998, 42-48, presented a similarly inclusive version of the Abrahamic covenant to supplement Old Testament Sunday School lessons. Ellis T. Rasmussen, former dean of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University, "Abrahamic Covenant," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992) 1:9-10, calls the Abrahamic covenant a "divine archetype" rather than a lineage-specific connection to Deity: "All who accept the covenant of the divine Redeemer become Abraham's seed spiritually and receive the same blessings as his biological descendants." See similar universalistic declarations in *ibid.*: E. Douglas Clark, "Abraham," 1:7-9; James B. Mayfield, "Covenant Israel, Latter-day," 1:330-31; Brian L. Smith, "Ephraim," 2:461-62; Brent L. Top, "Foreordination," 2:522-23; S. Kent Brown, Douglas A. Stewart, David L. Bolliger, and Terry L. Niederhauser, "Israel," 2:705-11; Allen C. Ostergar, Jr., "Seed of Abraham," 3:1,292.

¹⁰⁹A mission in Mexico had been established temporarily in the 1880s, then continuously from 1901; however, no other mission in Latin America was established until the South American Mission late in 1925 (divided ten years later to form separate Brazil and Argentine missions). Proselyting in those missions concentrated on European immigrants, however. *Deseret News Church Almanac*, 1974 (Salt Lake

Mexico to Cape Horn there were probably 100 million Israelites “whose blood has not been contaminated by admixture with any other race.” Rey L. Pratt, long-time Mexico Mission president, identified Mexican “blood” as from “Manasseh principally, also with a sprinkling of the blood of Ephraim.” Church Patriarch Hyrum G. Smith extended Manasseh ancestry to all the “Indians of North and South America,” though still emphasizing the primacy of Anglo-Ephraim in North America.¹¹⁰

Serge F. Ballif, president of the Swiss-German mission two or possibly three times and also a stake president, affirmed the presence of the “blood of Israel” in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and even Russia. Apostle Melvin J. Ballard and Roy A. Welker, a former president of the German-Austrian Mission, found believing blood in Lithuania, Germany, Poland, Russia, Spain, and Italy. Reinhold Stoof, South American Mission president, reporting in 1936, thought it likely that Spanish and Italian settlers in Argentina had Israelite blood, if only because of invasions of southern Europe by northern tribes during late Roman times. Lloyd O. Ivie, released as Japan Mission president in 1924 when the mission was closed after two decades of minimal results, nevertheless testified to his “firm belief and opinion that there is the blood of Israel among [the Japanese] people,” whose “probable” origins he identified as Asia Minor or the eastern Mediterranean.¹¹¹

In effect, these leaders became advocates for multiple locations of Israelite ancestry. As the century progressed, and “believing blood” was increasingly taken for granted around the world, the rationale for missionary work in exotic locales came to depend less on the likelihood of finding believing blood there and much more on the conventional Christian charge to carry the gospel unto all the world. Reinforcing this shift was the fact that baptism rates had become essentially flat in the traditionally “Ephraimite” countries of the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Germany. Still, persistent though receding references to literal Israelite lineage can be seen both in popular LDS literature and in patriarchal blessings.¹¹²

City: Deseret News, 1975), D8-D24, and later almanacs.

¹¹⁰Ivins, *Conference Report*, April 1901, 58; Pratt, *ibid.*, April 1916, 122; October 1916, 148; October 1918, 81; October 1924, 144; October 1925, 170; April 1928, 22; Hyrum G. Smith, *ibid.*, October 1927, 79; April 1929, 123.

¹¹¹Ballif, *ibid.*, April 1909, 80; April 1917, 119; October 1920, 90; October 1923, 96; Ballard, October 1926, 40; April 1930, 157; Welker, October 1937, 59; Stoof, April 1936, 87; Ivie, April 1926, 96.

¹¹²For example, M. Catherine Thomas, BYU religion instructor, “Alma’s Dynamic Life Characterizes Love of Redemptive Work,” *Church News*, 20 July 1996, 11, cites a premortal decision for the geographic placement of the favored lineage

Patriarchal Blessings and Universal Inclusiveness

As the importance of literal lineage has declined, some modern stake patriarchs have acquired modified understandings about the significance of lineage declared in patriarchal blessings. No doubt many patriarchs, leaders, and members still regard the "declaration of lineage" as referring to literal, genealogical descent or "blood." Yet others use less literal terms such as *assign*, *identify*, *specify*, or simply *give*. I have asked at least two dozen stake patriarchs to explain how they understand their citing of a person's lineage. Though this is in no way a systematic survey, their responses range along a continuum: At one end is the traditional explanation that by inspiration the patriarch identifies a person's literal descent. At the other end are some who routinely assign a person to the tribe of Ephraim, simply because that is the lineage given responsibility for the Lord's kingdom in this dispensation. Between these two positions are some patriarchs who occasionally feel inspired to specify an unusual lineage (perhaps for manifest racial reasons) but who routinely name Ephraim.¹¹³ Still others explain that lineage is indeed assigned by inspiration but does not necessarily have anything to do with actual ancestry.¹¹⁴

As early as 1952, interestingly, Church Patriarch Eldred G. Smith in general conference defined the "declaration" of lineage as referring to "the

in mortality. Terry M. Blodgett, professor of languages and literature, Southern Utah University, "Tracing the Dispersion: New Linguistic Studies Help Tell Us about the Scattering of Israel," *Ensign*, February 1994, 64-70, traces the impact of ancient Hebrew upon German and other European languages through language drift. He concludes: "It is . . . significant that among the first people to accept the gospel in this dispensation were people who lived—or [whose] ancestors had lived—in the very countries that received Israelite migrations." Of course, however good the linguistic evidence, it does not "prove" that most early LDS converts were literal descendants of Ephraim or other Israelites; yet as a student of the LDS cultural heritage, I find it noteworthy that the official LDS magazine would publish an article with such an implication in the 1990s.

¹¹³Andrew Clark, a journalist formerly with the *Johannesburg Weekly Mail* and a member of the Chevy Chase Ward near Washington, D.C., in 1994, reported to me a conversation which he had overheard during 1994 in Johannesburg, South Africa, between an area president and a local stake patriarch, who had considered all blacks as incapable by definition of having Israelite lineage. According to Clark, the area president explicitly instructed the patriarch that, according to the General Authorities, all black Latter-day Saints should be assigned to the tribe of Ephraim. Telephone conversation, 1 August 1995; notes in my possession. See also Clark, "The Fading Curse of Cain: Mormonism in South Africa," *Dialogue* 27, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 41-56.

¹¹⁴See also Bates, "Patriarchal Blessings," 3-5.

tribe through which the promises of inheritance shall come." Patriarchal blessings, he explained, do "not always need to declare genealogy. . . . It is the blessings that are declared." To an LDS Institute audience, he emphasized that a patriarch is "giving blessings; he's not declaring lineage by terms of just genealogy. He's declaring lineage in terms of blessing." In private conversation, Smith added that he did not personally interpret his own declarations of lineage to refer to literal blood descent but was rather trying to turn the recipient's attention toward the provisions of the blessing itself and away from any preoccupation with literal lineage.¹¹⁵ Currently, stake patriarchs are simply instructed to "contemplate an inspired declaration of the lineage of the recipient," without specifying further the meaning of that phrase.¹¹⁶

William James Mortimer, writing in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, covers both ends of the spectrum. The patriarch "seeks inspiration to specify the dominant family line that leads back to Abraham," he said, but "whether this is a pronouncement of blood inheritance or of adoption does not matter. . . . It is seen as the line and legacy through which one's blessings are transmitted."¹¹⁷ The very ambiguity in this range of understandings serves the purpose, whether intended or not, of deemphasizing the importance of literal lineage; it thereby supports the more general trend toward universalizing access to the "royal" lineage.

The Racialist Residue

Yet the racialist legacy of the past remains, primarily in the writings of the late Apostle Bruce R. McConkie and a certain few of his disciples. Ironically, although he explicitly rejected British Israelism as a doctrine, McConkie nevertheless expressed approval of some of its ideas found in the work of George Reynolds.¹¹⁸ In large part, however, his ideas on race

¹¹⁵Eldred G. Smith, *Conference Report*, April 1952, 39, and similar comments in April 1960, 66; institute address quoted in Bates, "Patriarchal Blessings," 5.

¹¹⁶*Information and Instructions for Patriarchs*, 1970, 3-4, as quoted by Richard D. Allred of the Seventy, "The Lord Blesses His Children Through Patriarchal Blessings," *Ensign*, November 1997, 27-28; he then speaks of a recipient's lineage as having been "given" by the patriarch.

¹¹⁷William James Mortimer, "Patriarchal Blessings," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1066-67; see also Ariel S. Ballif, "Stake Patriarch," *ibid.*, 3:1064-65.

¹¹⁸McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985), 517, states: "Providentially, this British Israel concept, once so prevalent in the British Isles and elsewhere, has gone pretty much out of vogue and is not taken as seriously as it once was." Apostle Mark E. Petersen, *Conference Report*, April 1953, 83, said, "I do not believe we should teach the doctrines of British Israel or similar organizations . . . presenting them to our people as though they were true."

and racialism are simply reiterations and elaborations on the earlier teachings of his father-in-law, Joseph Fielding Smith. McConkie's ideas are not only still in print but in considerable demand among the Saints.¹¹⁹ The ideas expressed in McConkie's 1966 books seem especially anomalous in the contemporary LDS Church. They include (1) "believing blood," or the concept that blood literally carries spiritual responsiveness; (2) the expectation that the blood of "Gentile" converts will be transformed when they are adopted into Israelite lineage; (3) an endorsement of caste systems, especially for keeping blacks separate as descendants of Cain and Ham; (4) the belief that the blood of Ephraim is found mainly in northern Europe; (5) that birth in this chosen lineage is a reward for preexistent worthiness; (6) that Ephraim's descendants, as "natural heirs" to gospel blessings, are naturally "grouped together" during mortality for their own spiritual protection; and (7) the lost tribes will eventually gather to America to receive the gospel from Ephraim.¹²⁰

During the 1970s and 1980s, McConkie adopted a somewhat more universalistic outlook, conforming to changing Church policies on gather-

McConkie in his *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 10-11, 416-17, 456-57, nevertheless approvingly cited George Reynolds's *Are We of Israel?*, which borrows extensively from British Israelism. Alvin R. Dyer, an Assistant to the Twelve, *Who Am I?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966), 541, explained that the "reason why we have different kinds of people upon the earth" is that "some are born into cursed lineages; others into retarded civilizations, which is in consequence of the variations of attainment in the premortal realms." Future Church President Harold B. Lee expressed similar views in *Youth and the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1955), 170-72; reprinted in his *Decisions for Successful Living* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 167-68. Several other apostles or General Authorities could be cited to the same effect even into the 1960s and 1970s.

¹¹⁹See two books published by Bookcraft: *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (1966); *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary*, 3 vols. (1966); and four published by Deseret Book: *The Promised Messiah* (1978), *The Mortal Messiah*, 4 vols. (1979-81); *The Millennial Messiah* (1982); and *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (1985). When *Mormon Doctrine* was first published in 1958, it was so controversial among the General Authorities that the First Presidency asked him not to republish it; he reissued it in 1966 with some revisions. See my *The Angel and the Beehive*, 162-63.

¹²⁰McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, under Adoption, Believing Blood, Birthright, Caste System, Election, Foreordination, Gathering of Israel, Gentiles, Israel, Lost Tribes of Israel, and Pre-existence; also *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary* 2:274-84, 3:330-31. McConkie refers to "believing blood" as a "figurative expression," but by this he means only that the "believing" part is figurative (that is, literal blood cannot have faith), for he still claims that *people* with the right kind of blood are more likely to believe.

ing.¹²¹ Yet he never altered such key ideas as the priority and preeminence of elect lineages or the denigration of “cursed” lineages, both based upon premortal merit or lack thereof. He continued to believe that certain spirits in the preexistence cultivated an inclination “toward spiritual things” and toward talents in music, art, or science. These high achievers “earned the right to be born as the Lord’s people and to have the privilege, on a *preferential basis*, of believing and obeying the word of truth. Believing blood, the blood of Abraham, flows in their veins.”¹²² “Why are there different races of men?” he asks. “Why is there a white, a yellow, and a black race?,” a query echoing Gobineau’s three categories (1853). His answer refers again to differential worthiness in the preexistence and to the different “talent[s] for spirituality” developed there.¹²³ When the Church permitted the ordination of blacks in 1978, McConkie recanted his long-standing prediction that blacks would never receive the priesthood during mortality; but his subsequent work makes it obvious that he retained his other racist ideas.¹²⁴

Racialism seems gradually to be disappearing from authoritative LDS discourse, even if it has never been officially and explicitly repudiated.¹²⁵

¹²¹For example, he modified his insistence on the importance of gathering to Zion to mean that Israel, found in all nations, would be gathered “not to an American Zion” nor to “any central place or location,” but rather to certain “holy places of safety . . . now being set up in all nations,” by Ephraimites representing the Church leaders. In short, the gathering is still literal but to various locations, not to any one central place. McConkie, *Millennial Messiah*, 191, 196, 203, 320; *New Witness*, 519-21, 565-69.

¹²²McConkie, *Mortal Messiah*, 1:23; *Millennial Messiah*, 182-83, chap. 16; emphasis mine. See also *New Witness*, chap. 4.

¹²³McConkie, *New Witness*, 512; see also 510-11.

¹²⁴Two months after the policy change on priesthood, McConkie told LDS Church educators to “forget everything I and others have said” on denying priesthood to blacks. McConkie, “All Are Alike Unto God,” 18 August 1978; reprinted as “The New Revelation on Priesthood” in [no editor identified], *Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1981), 126-37. However, in this address, McConkie still refers to blacks as descendants of Cain, though now eligible for the priesthood. McConkie published a slightly revised version of *Mormon Doctrine* in 1979, with most of the racist ideas once used to justify the priesthood policy still intact.

¹²⁵The racist heritage of an earlier Mormonism, lacking official repudiation, provides extremists with some grounds to claim religious sanction for virulent racism as found in the contemporary American militia and Christian Identity movements. Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness*, 177, 284, finds the proportion of Mormons in the Idaho movement to approximate closely their proportion among Idaho citizens at large. Mario S. De Pillis, “The Emergence of Mormon Power since

This decade has, however, seen a few exceptions. As recently as 1993, two prominent members of the religion faculty at BYU published a book on the calling and election of the house of Israel, which relies heavily on McConkie's published work. This work begins with a prologue and chapter lamenting the fact that the idea of a chosen and covenant people has apparently fallen into disuse, discusses how lineages are chosen in the preexistence, explains why "believing blood" is important, and tends to glorify the lineage of Abraham in general and that of Ephraim in particular. While it does not espouse British Israelism in general, it quotes with approval some related ideas of James H. Anderson, one-time exponent of that philosophy.¹²⁶ At a quasi-official level, various entries in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* espouse the anachronistic idea that Gentile converts undergo a literal change of blood and assert simultaneously both universalism and premortal lineage birthright.¹²⁷

CONCLUSION

To summarize: During the life of Joseph Smith, Mormonism shared with American Protestantism an expectation that the gathering of Israel was essential preparation for the imminent millennium. Jews and the "lost" (or at least not known) ten tribes would be gathered separately. The tribe of Ephraim was generally considered preeminent among these lost tribes. Like some Protestants, early Mormons also identified Native Americans as descendants of some of the lost tribes; and like a few other Protestants, Mormons came to see themselves as literal descendants of ancient Joseph, especially of his sons Ephraim and Manasseh. Ephraim, and thus the Latter-day Saints themselves, were being gathered first because, with their

1945," *Journal of Mormon History* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 16-17, discusses this potential for political and racist extremism on the fringes of Mormonism; he cites a panel, "People's Militia vs. the Law of the Land: A Few Mormon Perspectives," Sunstone Symposium, August 1995. See also Becky Johns, "The Manti Mormons: The Rise of the Latest Mormon Church," *Sunstone* 19 (June 1996): 30-36; Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, 168-70, 185-88.

¹²⁶Robert L. Millet and Joseph Fielding McConkie, *Our Destiny: The Call and Election of the House of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993). The reference to Anderson is on page 22, and his *God's Covenant Race* is listed in the bibliography. In a review of the Millet and McConkie book, Epperson, "Some Problems with Supercessionism in Mormon Thought," 125-36, criticizes it for (among other things) a certain "racial and religious chauvinism" reflected in an unnecessary and doctrinally dubious concern with purity of blood and bloodlines.

¹²⁷Compare Brent Smith, "Ephraim," 1:461-62; Top, "Foreordination," 1:522; Brown, Stewart, Bolliger, and Niederhauser, "Israel," 2:706; Gayle O. Brown, "Premortal Life," 3:1123-25; Ostergar, "Seed of Abraham," 3:1292.

believing blood, they were more likely than others to recognize their “shepherd’s voice” through LDS missionaries. Ephraim was to be found particularly prominent among Anglo-Saxon and Nordic races. Gentiles were welcome as converts, but their blood would have to be changed. Like others of their time, early Mormons believed that spiritual, intellectual, and emotional qualities could be carried in the blood. While many of these ideas were similar to those being promulgated by British Israelism and Anglo-Saxon triumphalism, the nature and extent of their influence on the Mormonism of Joseph Smith’s day have not been explicitly established.

From the arrival in Utah until about 1930, Mormon lineage theology expanded into fuller explanations of LDS history and future. This racist framework synthesized three elements: (1) an emerging and expansive LDS understanding of premortal life, (2) British Israelism, and (3) Anglo-Saxon triumphalism, which was popular with American and European intellectuals. The Mormon version began with the premortal assignment of certain individuals and categories of spirits to various lineages or geographic locales according to their proved worthiness. The most favored lineages were those which descended from Abraham, particularly through Jacob, Joseph, and Ephraim successively. Descendants of Ephraim, also known as Anglo-Saxons, dominated the population of the British Isles and the Nordic countries, which helped explain their cultural and political superiority. Mormons not only shared in this heritage but were a vanguard, a favored people of royal blood and royal birthright; they enjoyed a divine priority in the gathering, preferential access to the priesthood, and superior understanding of gospel truths. This spiritual identity countered the world’s image of them as a pariah people.

This racist scenario partially eclipsed for several decades the more universalist Christian scenario also present in Mormon discourse from the beginning; but universalism has reasserted itself since midcentury. In the simpler contemporary scenario, Israel must still be gathered before the millennium, but the gathering now includes all who come unto Christ and will occur in many places. The covenant between God and Abraham is continued in the gospel covenant in which “all are alike unto God” (2 Ne. 26:33), and all who accept the gospel become Abraham’s descendants. Operationally speaking, the search for Ephraim is now only the search for the Lord’s disciples. Whatever residue of racist and racist teachings may still linger, whether glorifying some lineages or denigrating others, can only blur the more universalistic message with which the worldwide church strides into the twenty-first century.

EXTRACTING SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC MODELS FROM MORMON HISTORY

Rodney Stark

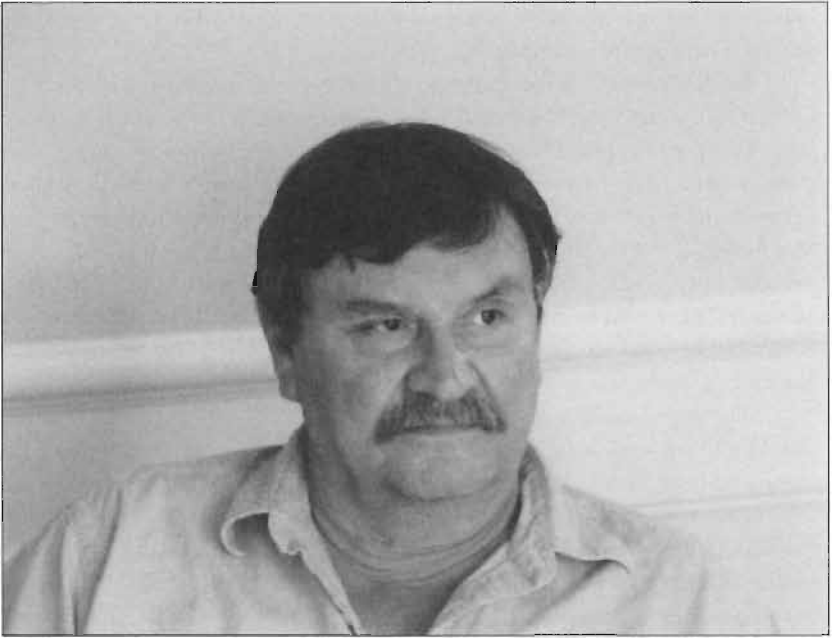
HISTORIANS HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED to exhortations that they ought to be applying social scientific models to their work. Thus, when the committee invited me to give this distinguished lecture, their underlying assumption must have been that any religious movement, including the Mormons, not only is unique, but also is constrained by general social scientific principles. And I imagine that it was assumed that I would devote my time to explaining how some of these principles apply to Mormon history.

However, I think it will be far more useful if I do the opposite. Through the years, by close study of the Mormons I have tried to discover the general within the particular, to extract general social scientific models from Mormon historical materials. So I will devote my Tanner Lecture to summarizing several of these models in hopes that you will see some of the general implications of things you know so very well in particular.

Nearly fifteen years ago I published my first Mormon study with the flamboyant title "The Rise of a New World Faith."¹ In it I explained why

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¹Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research*



the Mormons offered a “unique opportunity” to social scientists. I began by noting that it may be futile to try to understand the rise of new religions by studying the numerous small groups that constantly spring up, since none of these movements ever actually rises. Instead, each is doomed to obscurity from the start. Hence, even if we should discover the underlying principles governing these new religious movements, chances are that what we will have discovered are the laws of religious failure. To understand how new religions rise, we must study successful cases. I continued:

It is, of course, too late to study how Islam arose in the 7th century, as it is too late to study the rise of the other great world faiths. Their formative periods are shrouded in the fog of unrecorded history. Despite the many admirable efforts to deduce “histories” of these great movements by sociologizing upon shreds of texts, there are severe limits to what can be learned by these means. Sociologists of religion must await new developments to provide them with critical evidence.

And then came the punchline: “I suggest that we need wait no longer, that the time of deliverance is now at hand. I shall give my reasons for

believing that it is possible today to study that incredibly rare event: the rise of a new world religion."²

In that paper I presented two projections of Mormon membership for the next century (1980-2080). The low estimate was based on a growth rate of 30 percent per decade, which is far below the actual average rate of growth of 61 percent maintained by the Mormon Church during the three decades up to 1980. This low estimate would produce about 64 million Mormons in 2080. The high estimate was based on a growth rate of 50 percent per decade, still below the rate maintained during the preceding 30 years. Were it to be met, there would be about 267 million Mormons in 2080. Either total would qualify the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a world religion.

These projections have attracted much attention and have sent any number of my colleagues and various journalists into extreme denial. But as I stand here, it is possible to compare the projections for the first seventeen years with actual membership figures. So far, membership is substantially higher than my most optimistic projection, the one that would result in 267 million Mormons worldwide in 2080. (See Table 1.) For example, the actual membership total reached in 1997 exceeds the high projected total for 1999.

This little exercise in the arithmetic of the possible became of considerably more general interest when I began a book on the rise of Christianity.³ One of the things I felt it was urgent to establish was whether the ordinary process of conversion explained how Christianity had grown as large as it must have been by the start of the fourth century, or whether it was necessary to accept claims of mass conversions. That is, what rate of growth must we assume for Christianity to have grown from about 1,000 members in the year 40 to about 6 million in the year 300? Historians, from Eusebius to Ramsay MacMullen, have unanimously asserted that such large numbers necessitate extraordinary bursts of mass conversions. Indeed, the great Adolf Harnack wrote of the "inconceivable rapidity" of Christianity's "astonishing expansion" and repeated Augustine's claim that "Christianity must have reproduced itself by means of miracles, for the greatest miracle of all would have been the extraordinary extension of the religion apart from any miracles."⁴

²Ibid., 18.

³Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁴Adolf Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 2:335-36.

TABLE 1
A COMPARISON OF PROJECTED AND ACTUAL RATES
OF MORMON GROWTH, 1980-97

	<i>High Estimate*</i>	<i>Low Estimate**</i>	<i>Actual Membership</i>
1980	4,638,000		
1981	4,830,000	4,761,000	4,920,000
1982	5,030,000	4,888,000	5,161,000
1983	5,238,000	5,018,000	5,385,000
1984	5,455,000	5,151,000	5,641,000
1985	5,680,000	5,288,000	5,911,000
1986	5,915,000	5,429,000	6,167,000
1987	6,160,000	5,573,000	6,400,000
1988	6,415,000	5,721,000	6,721,000
1989	6,681,000	5,973,000	7,308,000
1990	6,957,000	6,029,000	7,761,000
1991	7,245,000	6,190,000	8,090,000
1992	7,545,000	6,354,000	8,404,000
1993	7,857,000	6,523,000	8,689,000
1994	8,182,000	6,697,000	9,024,569
1995	8,521,000	6,875,000	9,439,000
1996	8,834,000	7,058,000	9,694,000
1997	9,241,000	7,245,000	10,070,000
1998	9,623,000	7,438,000	
1999	10,021,00	7,636,000	
2000	10,436,000	7,838,000	
2005	12,782,000	8,937,000	
2010	15,654,00	10,190,000	
2015	19,172,000	11,618,000	
2020	23,480,000	13,246,000	
2040	52,830,000	22,387,000	
2060	118,867,000	37,833,000	
2080	167,452,000	63,939,000	

* 50% per decade (4.138% per year)

** 30% per decade (2.658% per year)

Here I had an immense advantage over earlier historians because I knew from my Mormon statistics that the early growth of Christianity was in no way astonishing. All that was required for Christians to number 6 million within the time that history allows was a growth rate of 40 percent per decade, which is significantly lower than the current Mormon rate. I must admit that I have enjoyed all of the praise I have been given for generating this growth curve for early Christianity, but I also must admit that it was a very small achievement. I have made rather more important discoveries from close study of the Mormons.

In my first essay on the rise of Mormonism, I promised that I would soon publish a theoretical model of how new religions succeed, generalized from the Mormon example. I made good on that promise in 1987 and produced a more sophisticated version in 1996.⁵ I will not summarize the model here but will emphasize several key elements which may be of particular interest to you.

NETWORKS AND CONVERSION

One of my earliest theoretical contributions to the social scientific study of religion concerned the central role of social relations in conversion to religious groups. This work did not begin with study of the Mormons but with the first dozen American members of the Unification Church, often referred to in the media as the Moonies. John Lofland, a fellow graduate student, and I wanted to understand how people became converts. Our interest was not in reaffiliation—such as when a Methodist becomes a Baptist—but in shifts across major religious traditions such as when a Baptist becomes a Hindu. At that time, the literature on conversion stressed the link between doctrine and deprivation. The approach used was to examine a group's doctrine to discover to whom it would have special appeal and to then assert that this appeal was the basis of conversion. Thus, one noted that Christian Science offered a cure for all ailments and reasoned that it mainly drew its converts from the ranks of the afflicted. Of course, one could as easily have argued that only persons with a history of unusually good health could be convinced that illness was all in the mind, which would, of course, lead to an entirely contrary conclusion about Christian Science converts. Lofland and I decided that no real progress could be

⁵Rodney Stark, "How New Religions Succeed: A Theoretical Model," in *The Future of Religious Movements*, edited by David Bromley and Phillip E. Hammond (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1987), 891-907 and Stark, "Why Religious Movements Succeed or Fail: A Revised General Model," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 12 (1996): 133-57.

made in explaining conversion barricaded behind the library stacks, so we went out to see it happen.

Our observations reduced doctrinal appeals to a very minor initial role. Yes, after people have joined a new religious movement and have fully learned its doctrines and forms of worship, they emphasize the centrality of belief in their conversion. But having observed these same people before and during their conversions, Lofland and I knew better. More typically, when people encountered the Unificationists they found their religious concerns rather odd. If they continued to associate with the group, it was only because they liked some of the members. Sometimes they were relatives or old friends of members. And it was this social connection that led to their conversions. As Lofland and I put it, "conversion was coming to accept the opinions of one's friends [or relatives.]"⁶

Subsequent studies have shown that, in fact, interpersonal ties are the primary factor in conversion; and my more recent work on this phenomenon is based on the proposition that when an individual's attachments to a member or members of another religion outweigh his or her attachments to nonmembers, conversion will occur. The most common instance of this sort of conversion is, of course, through marriage. But less serious attachments often suffice.

In the case of most new religious movements, conversion is based on the *formation* of attachments to outsiders, and the typical convert is a person deficient in ties to others because of situational or psychological factors. Thus the Unificationists became very skilled at forming friendships with newcomers to the city, most of them young, whose close ties (if any) were all to persons too far away to observe their ongoing conversion. The same finding turns up in study after study of similar groups.⁷ However, when movements depend on befriending isolates, their growth will be very slow. Why? Because when new members are selected for lack of ties to nonmembers, they rarely connect the group to other potential converts. Thus, growth requires that these religious movements constantly form new ties to nonmembers despite being increasingly composed of members deficient in the social skills needed to play the active role in forming such relationships.⁸ Any movement growing as rapidly as the Mormons or as fast as the

⁶John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," *American Sociological Review* 30 (1965), 871.

⁷William Sims Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁸Rodney Stark and Lynne Roberts, "The Arithmetic of Social Movements: Theoretical Implications," *Sociological Analysis* 43 (1982): 53-68.

early Christians must have done cannot be based on recruiting isolates. Rather, most new converts must open the way to new social networks—to the conversion of their friends and relatives.

It was in seeking to document this proposition that I first benefitted from a close look at things Mormon. Armand Mauss provided me with data on the outcomes of a large number of contacts between Mormon missionaries and nonmembers. When the contact occurred through a door-to-door cold call, only one in a thousand eventually resulted in a conversion. But when the contact was arranged and hosted by a Mormon friend or relative of the potential recruit, conversion took place half of the time.⁹ It thus became obvious that Mormon conversion is not primarily the result of efforts by missionaries but is produced by rank-and-file Mormons who spread their faith to relatives and friends. Indeed, I summarized an article from the *Ensign* that offers a thirteen-step set of tactics for doing precisely that, repeatedly advising that all discussion of religion be delayed and minimized.¹⁰

My interests in conversion and the growth of religious movements have taken me back to Mormon data again and again. Recently I have devoted a good deal of effort to reconstructing the earliest Mormon social networks, starting with the Smith family. I know you all are aware that, in the beginning, Mormon conversion was very much a kinship affair. Indeed, I have read discussions of this fact in books written by many members of this audience. Nevertheless, I doubt that any of you fully appreciates the extent to which the Latter-day Saints began as one big family, or how long this remained true, and at what extraordinary distances.

I will be able to identify and analyze the early Mormon networks far more accurately and efficiently than has been possible, as soon as my student Christopher Bader and I finish reconstructing the superb data file entitled *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830-1848*, compiled by Susan Easton Black and included in the LDS Family History Suite CD-ROM, available in your nearest Beehive Bookstore.¹¹ Dr. Black did a wonderful job of gathering material, but it is difficult to use her data for sociological research because it is in a single, huge text file. What we are doing is converting it into a file consisting of individual cases with the capacity to link cases on the basis of marriage or kinship. I anticipate that

⁹Rodney Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1980): 1376-95.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: 1830-1848*, Infobases, *LDS Family History Suite*, CD-ROM.

this reconstructed file will make it possible to instantly identify and list all of members of Sidney Rigdon's church who were baptized in Kirtland, Ohio, late in 1830, for example. The search engine in the available CD turns up only about a dozen such people, but trustworthy histories report that there must have been at least 130. Most of these cases fail to turn up because the coding is inconsistent, but these are problems easily solved when cases can be examined on an entirely comparable basis. For example, although we have transformed only 1,337 of the more than 28,000 individuals included in the text file, we have already found several people whose place of baptism is missing but who were baptized a day or two before they received a patriarchal blessing in Kirtland at the time in question. So there they are, and it is already clear that most everyone was related to most everyone else.

In fact, even without this data base, I already have learned enough to see that literally thousands of these early converts formed a huge, interlocking, kinship network existing long before Joseph Smith Jr. had any revelations. Today, I will restrict myself to several brief examples.

In April 1830, Samuel Smith met Phinehas Young in Mendon, New York, a town fifteen miles from Palmyra. Phinehas was a Methodist circuit rider whose home was in Mendon. When Samuel Smith attempted to interest him in a copy of the Book of Mormon, he accepted because he had already heard about its contents from his sister Rhoda and her husband John Greene, also was a Methodist circuit rider. Rhoda had received a copy from Samuel Smith during a previous visit to Mendon. Phinehas wanted a copy so he could prepare himself to refute it among his fellow Methodists, especially since the Greens thought it had merit. Phinehas studied it for a week and could not find the errors he had anticipated. So he lent it to his father Joseph Young, who thought it "the greatest work . . . he had ever seen" and then he gave it to his sister Fanny, who called it "a revelation."¹²

However, as I have stressed, by themselves *scriptures do not make converts*. Despite their very positive reactions to the Book of Mormon, nothing happened. It required two more years of interacting with committed Mormons before the Youngs were ready. Then, in April 1832, John Young and his wife Hannah, four sons, three daughters-in-law, two daughters, and two sons-in-law were baptized as Mormons. A month later two more of Joseph Young's daughters and their husbands were baptized. The next year another Young son, daughter, and son-in-law were baptized. By building

¹²Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 19-20.

strong friendship ties to several members of one family, the Mormons gained twenty converts including Brigham Young!

But there's more. Fanny Young's husband, Roswell Murray's, sister Vilate was married to Heber C. Kimball who also was Brigham Young's closest friend; indeed, the Youngs and the Kimballs were cousins. The day after the first baptism of Youngs, all the Kimballs were baptized, too. Not only were Brigham Young and Heber Kimball cousins to each other but both were distant cousins of Joseph Smith, kinship ties of which they all were well aware.¹³

Now, for another instance. In 1837 Joseph Smith directed that missionaries be sent to Great Britain. The British Mission was so successful that, for a period beginning in the late 1840s, there were more Mormons in the British Isles than in the United States, despite large-scale Mormon immigration from Britain. In fact, the combination of Mormons in Britain and first generation British Mormon immigrants made up the majority of all Mormons from 1845 until 1895.¹⁴ Many have suggested how economic and social conditions in Great Britain at this time created a receptive audience for the Mormon message,¹⁵ but my interest here is limited to the network aspects. How did the missionaries get started? Who would listen? Who had reason to trust them?

After landing in Liverpool, the Mormon missionary party went directly to the textile manufacturing city of Preston. There they were given access to the pulpits of three Nonconformist churches; and for several weeks, they freely preached the Mormon doctrine, to great effect. Joseph Fielding was the missionary who had made these arrangements well in advance of their departure from the United States. The three English pastors who opened their pulpits to them were Fielding's brother and his two brothers-in-law.¹⁶

Having stressed the network character of conversion, it now is time to admit that doctrine does matter. Even if people do not pursue a new faith because they find its doctrines irresistible, doctrine does tend to im-

¹³D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 165.

¹⁴Rodney Stark, "A Theoretical Assessment of LDS Growth," in *Latter-day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and Its Members*, edited by James T. Duke (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998), pp. 29-70.

¹⁵Arrington, *Brigham Young*. James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837-1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992).

¹⁶Allen, Esplin, and Whittaker, *Men with a Mission*.

pede or facilitate religious choices. It does this in two primary ways. One way involves the principle of the conservation of religious capital. The other is as doctrine shapes the social norms within religious groups.

RELIGIOUS CAPITAL AND CONVERSION

As I became more familiar with Mormon statistics, I noticed that they were much more successful in some places than others. Eventually, I recognized a pattern: Mormon growth usually is more rapid in Christian than in non-Christian societies. This encouraged me to examine other recent religious movements and to notice that groups retaining substantial Christian cultural elements (such as Christian Science or, more recently, the Children of God) have done far better in the United States than have various non-Christian faiths based in Hinduism or other eastern religions (such as Theosophy or the Hare Krishnas). I formulated an explanation of this pattern.

The starting point of all worthwhile social theories is the recognition that people attempt to make rational choices, to pay attention to the potential costs and benefits when selecting a course of action. Put another way, people attempt to maximize. As used in economics, attempts at maximization usually involve capital and the attempt to acquire the most while expending the least. In my recent work I use far more general forms of capital: social and religious.

We already have examined the role of social capital in conversion. Our relationships with others represent very substantial investments of time, energy, emotion, and even material. Moreover, we can draw upon this capital in times of need; our friends will rally to our support. Put another way, most people, most of the time, have accumulated a network of relationships which they regard as valuable. When people base their religious choices on the preferences of those to whom they are attached, they conserve (maximize) their social capital—they do not risk their attachments by failure to conform, and therefore they do not face the potential need to replace their attachments.

For a long time I minimized the importance of religious factors in religious choices in order to emphasize the importance of social capital. But it bothered me to do so because I knew full well that selecting a religion is not exactly like joining a secular club. Belief is the central aspect of religion, and therefore one's beliefs do matter but in a more subtle fashion than has been assumed by those who attribute religious choices to doctrinal appeal. To understand this point, it will be necessary to conceptualize religion as a form of *cultural capital*, a term coined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to identify the investments or "sunk costs" that culture represents to each individual.¹⁷

Culture refers to the complex pattern of living that directs human

social life, the things each new generation must learn and to which eventually they may add. That is, culture consists of the sum total of human creations—intellectual, technical, and moral. To become normal humans, all newborns must master the cultural package deemed essential in their society, including the religion of his or her parents. The process of acquiring culture is known as socialization. And when we are being socialized into our culture we also are investing in it—expending time and effort in learning, understanding, and remembering cultural material. For example, persons raised to be Christians accumulate a substantial store of Christian culture: not only doctrines, but prayers, hymns, rituals, history, and personal memories. People tend to stay put and to not migrate or emigrate, not only to protect social capital, but also to protect their cultural capital. For example, someone who is already proficient in French maximizes that possession by remaining within a French-speaking community rather than moving and having to invest in learning a new language and all of the other essential parts of a new culture. By the same token, being already proficient in Roman Catholicism, one maximizes by remaining within the bosom of the church.¹⁸

As I define it, *religious capital* consists of the degree of mastery of any particular religious culture. And I reason thus: In making religious choices, people will attempt to conserve their religious capital.

What this means is that, generally speaking, the greater their store of religious capital (the more they have invested in a faith), the more costly it is for people to change faiths. This fact helps us recognize why converts overwhelmingly are recruited from the ranks of those lacking a prior religious commitment or having only a nominal connection to a religious group. This pattern not only has turned up repeatedly in studies of new religious movements but can also be seen in the fact that, in the United States, the single most unstable “religion” of origin is “no religious preference.” While the great majority of those raised with a religious affiliation retain that affiliation, the great majority of those who say that their family had no religion join a religion as adults. Or as another example, one might well suppose that converts to a thriving Mexican millenarian colony of “Traditional Catholics” (who reject the Vatican II reforms), would come from the ranks of the very pious. But Miguel C. Leatham found that those who joined had been “quite marginal Catholics at the time of recruitment,” having “extremely low mass attendance”; some had not even been baptized.¹⁹

¹⁷Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

¹⁸Laurence R. Iannaccone. “Religious Practice: A Human Capital Approach,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (1990): 297-314.

Thus, at least one basis for these conversions is that a lack of prior religious commitment makes it inexpensive (in terms of religious capital) to take up a new faith.

The empirical literature is entirely supportive of the proposition that, when people change religions, they tend to select the option that maximizes their conservation of religious capital by switching to a religious body very similar to the one in which they were raised. Thus, people raised in one Jewish Hasidic body are more apt shift to another than to join a Conservative synagogue, are more likely to join a Conservative than a Reform synagogue, and are far more apt to become Reform Jews than Unitarians. Similarly, people raised in an evangelical Protestant denomination tend to switch to another, a process that Reginald Bibby and Merlin Brinkerhoff describe as "the circulation of saints."²⁰ Many subsequent studies have found that the tendency to select a new church that very closely resembles one's previous affiliation holds across the theological spectrum.

The principle also holds even when we examine more dramatic shifts in affiliation. Consider the situation of a young person from a traditional Christian background and living in a Christian society who is deciding whether to join the Mormons or the Hare Krishnas. By becoming a Mormon, this person retains his or her entire Christian culture and simply adds to it. The Mormon missionaries, noting that the person has copies of the Old Testament and the New Testament, suggest that an additional scripture, the Book of Mormon, will complete the set. In contrast, the Hare Krishna missionaries note that the person has the "wrong" scriptures and must discard the Bible in exchange for the *Bhagavad Gita*. The principle of the conservation of religious capital predicts (and explains) why the overwhelming majority of converts within a Christian context select the Mormon rather than the Hare Krishna option. It also helps us understand why the Hare Krishnas have outdone the Mormons in India and among American immigrants from India. It sheds light, too, on why the Jehovah's Witnesses are growing far more rapidly than the Mormons in Europe, but why the two are doing about equally well in Asia where neither has any advantage in terms of religious capital.

¹⁹Miguel C. Leatham, "Rethinking Religious Decision-Making in Peasant Millenarianism: The Case of Nueva Jerusalén," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 12 (1997): 295-309.

²⁰Reginald W. Bibby and Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, "The Circulation of the Saints: A Study of People Who Join Conservative Churches," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 12 (1973): 273-83.

THE WORD AS FLESH

Doctrine also plays a substantial role in shaping the social life of religious groups, aspects of which are of special importance to any outsider thinking of becoming a member. I was able to overcome my sociological training and to recognize that the Word can indeed become flesh mainly because of the Mormon example.

Anyone who lives around Mormons and pays attention must be struck by the worldly rewards of membership. Mormons not only benefit from the promise of immense rewards to come in the next world, but they shower one another with rewards in this one. By asking much of their members, the Mormon Church gains the resources to give them much. Far more than members of most other American faiths, Mormons can feel secure against misfortune and hard times. This is not an accident, nor is it a holdover from frontier customs. Again and again when I have discussed these practices with Mormons, they quickly offer scripture as their justification. Mormons maintain their own system of social services because they believe God commands them to do so. And here, too, my work on early Christianity profited greatly from my Mormon experiences.

It is not fashionable to argue that the early Christians took seriously such ideas as being their brothers' keepers. Nor would most sociologists have suggested that Christians really would have acted on such notions to nurse the sick in times of plague, to sustain widows and orphans, to purchase the freedom of slaves, or to provide decent burial for the dead—this *despite* the fact that both early Christian and pagan sources agree that it was all true! Most sociologists know better than to believe such stuff. We have been taught that ideas are but epiphenomena flowing upward from underlying material conditions. But anyone who has watched their Mormon friends make substantial sacrifices on behalf of others—open their home to an abandoned wife and children or to regularly take a former neighbor now suffering from Alzheimer's disease out for a picnic—knows enough to look for such forms of religious behavior elsewhere. I was able to understand the very attractive social and material rewards of early Christianity because I had seen people who became Mormons after having initially formed a favorable impression of the group on these grounds alone.

REVELATIONS

As my final topic, I would like to discuss how immersion in Mormon history led me to formulate and then to extend a theory of revelations.

The most basic question confronting the social scientific study of religion concerns the sources of religious culture. Given that the major western religions are all based on revelations, the question becomes: How

do "revelations" occur? To the extent that we cannot answer this question, we remain ignorant of the origins of our entire subject matter.

Despite being *the* question, it has seldom been raised because the answer has seemed obvious to most social scientists: those who claim to have received revelations—to have communicated with the supernatural—are either crazy or crooked, and sometimes both. Indeed, even many social scientists who will permit the rational choice axiom in explanations of more mundane religious phenomena find it quite impossible to accept that normal people can sincerely believe they have communicated with the divine. Although scholars seldom express such views openly, it long has been the orthodox position that the world's major religious figures, including Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, as well as thousands of more recent revelators such as Anne Hutchinson, Joseph Smith, Bernadette Soubirous, and the Reverend Sun M. Moon, were psychotics, frauds, or both. When Bainbridge and I surveyed the literature on revelation a few years ago, we found that, although the topic had been little-covered, the psychopathological interpretation was the overwhelming favorite, with conscious fraud treated as the only plausible alternative.²¹

In that essay, Bainbridge and I reworked this literature and systematized our own field observations to state three models of revelation. The first gives systematic statement to the psychopathology model. Here revelations are traced not simply to mental illness but also to abnormal mental states induced by drugs or fasting. The second model substitutes chicanery for psychopathology and characterizes some religious founders as entrepreneurs. Finally, we codified a subcultural-evolution model of revelation wherein a small group, interacting intensely over a period of time, assembles a revelation bit by bit, without anyone being aware of the social processes taking place. Here, at least, we made room for revelations involving neither craziness nor corruption.

Since the publication of that article, it has become increasingly clear that these three models fail to account for very many cases of revelations—including the most significant ones. There have been precious few cases in which there is any persuasive evidence that the founder of a new religious movement had any symptoms of mental problems.²² Of course, lack of

²¹William Sims Bainbridge and Rodney Stark, "Cult Formation: Three Compatible Models," *Sociological Analysis* 40 (1979): 283-95.

²²Mental patients who claim to talk to God or to be Muhammad are of no interest. At issue is the mental health of people who succeed in convincing others to accept the authenticity of their revelations, not the incidence of religious imagery in the delusions of the mentally ill.

visible signs is no impediment for Freudians and others who are entirely willing to infer psychopathology from religious behavior per se; but for those of us lacking conviction in Freud's revelations, the apparent normalcy of scores of well-documented cases requires that we dismiss this approach. Moreover, it seems equally clear that few of the apparently sane recipients of revelations were crooks. Too many of them made personal sacrifices utterly incompatible with such an assessment. Finally, the subcultural-evolution model will not take up the slack, for the majority of cases seem not to fit it either. Hence, the need for a new approach was patent.

Eventually, I found the basis for such an approach in a close examination of how Spencer W. Kimball received the revelation that blacks should be admitted to the Mormon priesthood. Kimball reported no voices from beyond, no burning bushes, and no apparitions. He spoke only of the many hours he spent in the "upper room of the temple supplicating the Lord for divine guidance."²³ The actual process by which he received his revelation would seem to involve nothing more (or less) than achieving a state of complete certainty about what God wanted him to do.

Couldn't any sincere believer have revelations that way? Clearly, this episode demonstrated the possibility that many revelations can be understood in rational terms, and I soon realized that this assumption could be extended even to the more dramatic episodes of revelations, including those that do involve visions and voices. So I preceded to construct a model of revelations based on the starting assumption that normal people can, through entirely normal means, have revelations, including revelations sufficiently profound to serve as the basis of new religions.

In that essay I was careful to acknowledge the possibility that revelations actually occur. It is beyond the capacity of science to demonstrate that the divine does not communicate directly with certain individuals; there is no possibility of constructing an appropriate detector. We must, therefore, admit the possibility of an active supernatural realm closed to scientific exploration. To confess these limits to scientific epistemology is not to suggest that we cease efforts to account for religious phenomena within a scientific framework. Indeed, as I shall take up in my conclusion, there is no necessary incompatibility between these efforts and faith.

My initial model of how revelations occur is available in several versions.²⁴ In constructing it, I ended up giving considerable attention to fa-

²³Qtd. in Armand L. Mauss, "The Fading of the Pharaoh's Curse: The Decline and Fall of the Priesthood Ban Against Blacks in the Mormon Church," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 10-45.

²⁴Rodney Stark, "How Sane People Talk to the Gods: A Rational Theory of

mous religious founders, and I was very struck by some amazing similarities between Joseph Smith and Muhammad. Both the Book of Mormon and the Qu'ran were produced mostly in public situations, having been dictated as others took down the words. In both cases, the witnesses report that both Joseph Smith and Muhammad appeared to be reading or hearing the text, not composing it; there were not a lot of false starts and long pauses as would be expected had the revelator been making it up as he went. These descriptions led me to comparisons with Mozart and Gershwin, since music simply "came" to them and they claimed they played or wrote down things they heard rather than things they created. Had they heard or glimpsed new scriptures rather than music, one easily can suppose that they would have concluded that these were being revealed to them.

I also noted the extent to which both Joseph Smith and Muhammad received very strong and unwavering support from their immediate families, confirming that their visions were truly of divine origin and should be pursued. In time, these and other aspects led me to the notion of "Holy Families"; and in a new essay, I spell out the importance of networks, not only for producing converts but also for sustaining prophets.²⁵ Let me sketch this approach.

Imagine yourself living a life of solitary contemplation. Then one day new truths are revealed to you by a divine being. By new truths, I mean a revelation that does not simply ratify current religious conceptions but one that adds to or departs from these conceptions to a significant degree. Having imparted a heterodox revelation, the divine being directs you to communicate it to the world, which means you must found a heretical religious movement. Having no close friends to reassure you or to help spread the word, somehow you now must find someone who will believe you, and then another, and another. It is a daunting prospect.

But what if, instead of living a solitary life, you are a respected member of an intense primary group? It would seem far less difficult to share your revelation with people who love and trust you than to convince strangers. Moreover, if members of your immediate social network can be converted, they constitute a ready-made religious movement. Furthermore, it will be much easier to convince others that your revelation is authentic if they

Revelations," in *Innovation in Religious Traditions: Essays in the Interpretation of Religious Change*, edited by Michael A. Williams, Collet Cox, and Martin S. Jaffe (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 19-34, and Stark, "Normal Revelations: A Rational Model of 'Mystical' Experiences," in *Religion and the Social Order*, Vol. 1, edited by David G. Bromley (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1991), 239-51.

²⁵Rodney Stark, "A Theory of Revelations," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, in press.

already believe that humans sometimes do receive revelations. Finally and ironically, while it is far easier for religions to begin within a tight primary group, to achieve substantial growth, a new religion must burst the confines of these intense relationships to become an open and expanding network. Let me state these points more formally.

For heretical religious movements based on revelations to succeed:

1. There must exist a general cultural tradition of communications with the divine, and the recipient of the revelation(s) must have direct contact with someone who has had such communications. Not only must it be plausible to the recipient and potential followers that revelations occur, but there also must be a role model so that a given individual may anticipate divine contact and comprehend such an episode as a revelation. Implicit here is a reinforcement model of religious experiences and revelations.

2. The recipient of the revelation must be a respected member of an intense primary group. Revelations cannot be sustained and transformed into successful new religions by lonely prophets but are invariably rooted in preexisting networks having a high level of social solidarity. Indeed, new religious movements based on revelations typically are family affairs. But whether a religious founder's primary group is based on kinship, what is important is that it is a durable, face-to-face network with very high levels of trust and affection.

3. The founding network must be, or must become, an open network, able to build ties to outsiders, especially to outside networks. A major cause of the failure of new religious movements is that they are, or become, so intensely inward that it is impossible for them to form the bonds to outsiders necessary for recruitment. It should be obvious how these three propositions fit the origins of the Latter-day Saints. The Smith family took the reality of revelations for granted as did most of their neighbors. Many local people reported having vivid religious experiences, including Joseph Smith Sr. Hence, when the eighteen-year-old Joseph Jr. had his initial vision of the Angel Moroni the first person he told was his father, who, according to Richard L. Bushman, "expressed no skepticism. Having learned himself to trust in visions, he accepted his son's story and counseled him to do exactly as the angel said."²⁶ Subsequently, Joseph Smith Jr.'s entire nuclear family was supportive and, eventually, so were numerous uncles, aunts, and cousins at various removes.

Muhammad's story is very similar. Revelation was taken for granted in Arabic culture in Muhammad's time. In part this was a result of the

²⁶Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 63.

constant and close contact with Christians and Jews; communities of both faiths existed all over the Arabian peninsula in these days, some of them within Muhammad's Mecca. In fact, at the start of his prophetic career, Muhammad assumed that Christians and Jews would embrace his revelations, since he believed himself to be the last in a line of prophets beginning with Abraham and including Jesus. Moreover, there was an indigenous Arabic tradition of revelation that was especially well-developed among the *hanif*, apparently a monotheistic sect in Arabia including elements of both Christianity and Judaism and possibly being a refuge for heretics from both. Scholars now generally accept that the *hanif* reflected the existence of "a national Arabian monotheism which was the preparatory stage for Islam."²⁷

Muhammad was directly influenced by two of the four founders of the *hanif* movement. One was his cousin Ubaydallah ibn Jahsh, who also was among Muhammad's early converts, and the other was his wife's cousin Waraqa ibn Naufal, a famous ascetic and visionary who not only authenticated Muhammad's earliest visions but also spurred him on in pursuit of revelations.²⁸

Muhammad was about forty when he first began to have visions. They occurred in the month of Ramadan,²⁹ during which he had for several years begun to seclude himself in a cave on Mt. Hira. Here "Muhammad spent his days and nights in contemplation and worship. He addressed his worship to the Creator of the universe."³⁰ This practice may have been prompted by "the old visionary Waraqa," who had converted to Christianity, is thought to have known Hebrew, and who had long been predicting the coming of an Arabian prophet.³¹ Eventually Muhammad began to have

²⁷Johann Fück, "The Originality of the Prophet," *Studies in Islam*, trans. and edited by Merlin L. Swartz (1936; reprint New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 86-98.

²⁸Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (San Francisco: Harper, 1993); Caesar E. Farah, *Islam: Beliefs and Observances*, 5th ed. (Hauppauge, NY: Barron's, 1994); Robert Payne, *The History of Islam* (n.p.: Barnes and Noble, 1959); F. E. Peters, *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammad* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); M. A. Salahi, *Muhammad: Man and Prophet* (Shaftesbury, U.K.: Element, 1995); David Waines, *An Introduction to Islam* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1995); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

²⁹This holy period and the custom of making a pilgrimage to Mecca preceded Islam, having been well-established in Arab paganism.

³⁰Salahi, *Muhammad*, 62.

³¹Payne, *The History of Islam*.

vivid dreams involving angels and to experience mysterious phenomena such as lights and sounds without sources. These upset him; he feared that he was losing his sanity or had been possessed by an evil spirit. When he confided in his wife Kahdijah, she immediately reassured him and quickly consulted her cousin Waraqa, who accepted these phenomena as signs that greater revelations would be forthcoming.³² Subsequently, when Kahdijah brought Muhammad to consult him, Waraqa cried out, "If you have spoken the truth to me, O Kahdijah, there has come to him the greatest *namus* who came to Moses aforetime, and lo, he is the prophet of his people."³³ Later, when he encountered Muhammad in the marketplace, Waraqa kissed him on the forehead as a mark of his mission as the "new prophet of the one God."³⁴ Indeed, Waraqa "serves as a kind of John the Baptist in the accounts of Muhammad's early revelations."³⁵

Thus reassured, Muhammad accepted his mission, expected to receive major new revelations, and soon did. Through all that was to come, the support of Kahdijah and Waraqa remained constant. Muhammad, an orphan, seems to have had little contact with his siblings and his two sons died in infancy; otherwise those family members probably would have been part of the founding core of Islam, just as Joseph Smith's parents and siblings were prominent early Mormons. Kahdijah's and Muhammad's two adopted sons were Muhammad's cousin Ali and Zayd ibn-Harithah, whom they had originally purchased as a slave. These adopted sons became Muhammad's third and fourth converts (after Kahdijah and Waraqa). The couple's four daughters—Fatimah, Zaynab, Ruqayya, and Umm Kulthum—all converted and so did three of Muhammad's cousins (including the famous *hanif* Ubaydallah), Asmar, wife of his cousin Ja'far, Muhammad's aunt, and his freed slave, Umm Ayman, a woman who had cared for him in infancy.

The first convert from outside Muhammad's family, and the fifth to accept the new faith, was Abu-Bakr, Muhammad's oldest and closest friend. Occupying a bridge position³⁶ in the network, Abu-Bakr brought the new faith to "a group of five men who became the mainstay of the young [movement]."³⁷ These five were close friends and business associates. One was

³²Ibid., 16.

³³Salahi, *Muhammad*, 85.

³⁴Ibid., 85.

³⁵Peters, *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam*, 123.

³⁶A bridge position person links two or more networks. Cowdery bridged the Smith family with the Whitmer family.

³⁷Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*, 35.

Abu-Bakr's cousin and another was yet another of Kahdijah's cousins. Like Muhammad, Abu-Bakr had great sympathy for slaves and, throughout his life, spent much of his income to purchase and free people from bondage. Two of the earliest converts to Islam were slaves whom he freed, including Bilal, who gained lasting fame as the first muezzin (or crier) to call the faithful to prayer.

These examples do not begin to exhaust the similarities between Muhammad and Joseph Smith. But they suffice. Having noted them, I found it both encouraging and fascinating to see how a model of revelations, rooted in observations of the Mormons, fit another famous case. Then, somewhat to my surprise, I discovered that the model fully fits Jesus and probably Moses as well.

There has emerged a new consensus among historians of early Christianity that Jesus had four brothers and at least two sisters all of whom were among his earliest and strongest supporters; and the significance of John the Baptist as a role model is well-known. This is not an appropriate place to deal with the statement attributed to Jesus that "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house" (Matt. 13:57; see also Mark 6:4). I merely note that early church fathers such as Origen and Tertullian dismissed this claim as entirely figurative since it was not historically true. In fact, the Apostle Paul claimed that the "brothers of the Lord" and their wives traveled with Jesus during his ministry (1 Cor. 9). Fortunately, I need not fight this battle as it appears to be over.

Finally, to the extent that we can glimpse actual history through the mists of oral traditions and the Pentateuch, the Moses story also is one of close family support—indeed, his siblings Aaron and Miriam had revelations too, and his wife and father-in-law may have done so as well.

The similarities across these four major cases are many and significant. There seems compelling evidence that cultural and social supports are needed to make people receptive to revelations. Joseph Smith, Muhammad, Jesus, and Moses were on close terms with others who had visions and revelations. Their holy families played a central role in sustaining their missions, and all four movements grew on the basis of network linkages. While these similarities sustain my theoretical propositions, unfortunately they can also be twisted to support the view that religions are nothing more than human inventions and that all of the faithful are misled or myopic. This fallacy has gone unchallenged in social science journals for far too long. Therefore, in closing, let me briefly explain why the social scientific study of religion is as compatible with faith as it is with skepticism.

CONCLUSION

The basis of the fallacy is the notion that, to be true, religions must

be immune to social scientific analysis, being inexplicable enigmas. For example, it is assumed that if believers, and especially founders, can be shown to behave in predictable ways, subject to normal human desires and motivations, then their religion must be a wholly naturalistic phenomenon, having no supernatural aspects. From this view, the fact that these four major religions conform to a social scientific model is proof of their purely human origins. Why else, skeptics ask, would the recipients of revelations have role models? Why would they require social support to proceed with their missions? Why would movements spread through networks on the basis of interpersonal relations rather than on the basis of scriptural merit?

This typical form of attack on the credibility of religion ignores what all believers readily acknowledge, that there is always a human side to religious phenomena. Mormons, Muslims, Christians, and Jews believe that the divine could convert the whole world in an instant, that the option to sin could be removed, and that other such miracles easily could be accomplished. But followers of these faiths also assume that this is not the divine intention. Rather, they believe that the divine acts through history, employing imperfect human agents. It therefore involves no inherently irreligious assumptions to seek to understand the human side of religious phenomena, including revelations, in human terms. Thus, for example, there is nothing discreditable in discovering that those who train and supervise missionaries are concerned with developing effective tactics, with sustaining morale, and with all the other common issues arising from organized human action. Moreover, all four faiths depict the *humanity* of their founders; and from the point of view of believers, there is nothing blasphemous about examining their human sides and observing that they behaved in recognizably human ways. The social scientific study of religion attempts to do nothing more.

GATHERING AND ELECTION: ISRAELITE DESCENT AND UNIVERSALISM IN MORMON DISCOURSE

Arnold H. Green

INTRODUCING THREE ESSAYS on LDS views of the Jewish people, *BYU Studies* editor John W. Welch recalled counsel from Church leaders to the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*'s advisors: "We were encouraged to be clear wherever an issue was settled but to be open-ended if it was not." Welch added: "Within bounds, answers can usually be given to such questions [the Mormon position on the Jews]. Where dispositive doctrines have not been propounded by the Church, however, several Mormon views may well exist. In some ways, such variety may expose an unsettled openness in meaning; in other respects, this multivalence may positively reflect the richness of a living religion."¹ In such cases, besides

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¹See *BYU Studies* 34 no. 4 (1994-95): John W. Welch, "Three Views on Latter-day Saints and the Jews," 109-10; Grant Underwood, "The Jews and Their Future in Early LDS Doctrine," 111-24; Steven Epperson, "Some Problems with

inquiring into the "several Mormon views" rather than after *the* official one, it can be enlightening to investigate the nature of the multivalence and the pattern of its elaboration historically.

This essay suggests a pattern for the elaboration in LDS discourse of an unsettled relationship between the concepts of Israelite descent and universalism that emerge from LDS scriptures and Joseph Smith's personal writings. Orson Pratt and Brigham Young later tried to settle these open questions by formulating rival solutions that subordinated one concept to the other, Pratt giving universalism primacy and Young giving lineage primacy. Their respective successors made various adaptations correlating with contemporary developments. While universalism has recently supplanted lineage primacy in the ascendant position, the "unsettled openness" has persisted through formative (1829-77), transitional (1878-1978), and contemporary periods.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD (1820-77)

LDS Scriptures

The Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price articulated, as prominent concepts, Israelite descent and universalism. They identified American Indians and Jews as scattered Israelites, remnants of God's "ancient covenant people," whom He had "favored above every other nation" and whom He remembered and promised to "gather" (2 Ne. 29:5; Alma 9:20). Israelite descent was pivotal in gathering the elect, for "all the people who are of the house of Israel, will I gather in, saith the Lord" (1 Ne. 19:6). Using what Bible scholars call "historical judgment," LDS scriptures portrayed this gathering as undoing the punishment of "scattering," inflicted upon the ancient Israelites for their covenant unfaithfulness.² Another corollary was that, assuming a geographical definition of gathering, certain Israelite tribes were to assemble in specific locations—

Supercessionism in Mormon Thought," 125-36; Arnold H. Green, "Jews in LDS Thought," 137-64.

²"Historical judgment" means God's punishment inflicted on people on earth. Patrick D. Miller Jr., *Sin and Judgment in the Prophets* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982); Gary A. Herion, "Wrath of God (OT)," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 6:989-96. For LDS scriptures about Jews under historical judgment, see 1 Ne. 1:19-20, 2:13, 3:17-18, 10:11, 17:44, 19:13-14, 22:3-5; 2 Ne. 1:4, 6:8-11, 10:3-6, 13:8, 14:4, 25:2, 6, 9-18, 27:1; Jacob 2:31, 4:14-15; Mosiah 13:27-30; 3 Ne. 10:4-7, 16:9, 17:14; 4 Ne. 1:31; Mormon 3:21, 7:5; D&C 45:21-24, 113:10. For Lamanites under judgment, see 1 Ne. 2:23-24, 13:10-14, 18, 30-34; 2 Ne. 5:20-25, 10:18, 26:19; Alma 3:6-10, 14-17, 45:10, 13-14; 3 Ne. 10:3-7, 16:8-9; Mormon 5:15-19. For Ham/Cain and their descendants under judgment, see Moses 7:22; Abr. 1:20-27.

Judah in Palestine and the remainder in an American Zion.³ A probable consequence of LDS scriptures' attributing significance to Israelite descent has been the Mormon attitude of philosemitism.⁴

Emphasized at least equally with Israelite descent was another concept: the restored gospel as universally applicable to and efficacious to save all humankind. LDS scriptures made clear that attaining salvation required (re)turning to covenant faithfulness—i.e., observing Mormonism's restored version of Christianity. Thus, "gathering" also meant conversion, a meaning that complemented and often transcended the geographical one. Assuming that "every knee" shall bow to Christ—the "only name whereby men can be saved"—universalism included the mandate to declare that message to "every creature" among "all nations, kindreds, tongues and people."⁵ Because God, the author of this gospel plan, was "no respecter of persons," it was accessible to every individual regardless of category: "He denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen; and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile" (2 Ne. 26:33). According to universalist passages of LDS scripture, the elect were "as many as will believe in me [Christ], and hearken unto my voice."⁶ In sum, lineage was a negligible factor in the process of gathering the elect.

There subsequently arose, about these two concepts and their corollaries, sundry interpretations reflecting the scriptures' unsettled openness. One debate occurred over whether the Jews' return to Palestine would be prior to and conditional upon their anticipated acceptance of Christ. Those maintaining that conversion necessarily preceded geographical gathering cited texts like: "When they shall come to the knowledge of their Redeemer,

³See 1 Ne. 10:1-2; 2 Ne. 1:5, 3:2-9, 10:19-20, 29:14; 3 Ne. 20:26-34, 46, 21:1; 3 Ne. 20:22, 21:22-24; Eth. 13:2-11; D&C 42:9, 45:65-66, 57:1-2, 77:15, 84:2-4, 124:36, 133:12-13, 24.

⁴Philosemitism is most simply defined as "pro-Jewish expressions among non-Jews." Joseph L. Baron, "Philo-Semites," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1942) 8:497-99. See also Armand L. Mauss, "Mormon Semitism and Anti-Semitism," *Sociological Analysis* 29 (Spring 1968): 11-27.

⁵For gathering as conversion, see 3 Ne. 10:6; D&C 10:65, 109:39, 58. For Christ as the "only name," see Mosiah 3:17, 5:8, 27:31; 2 Ne. 25:20, 31:21; D&C 88:104, 18:23. For "every creature" in "all nations," see the Testimonies of the Three and the Eight Witnesses; 1 Ne. 19:17, 22:10, 28; 2 Ne. 9:21, 26:27-28, 29:7, 30:8; Mosiah 3:13, 15:28, 16:1, 27:25, 28:3; Alma 5:49, 13:21-22, 29:2, 7-8, 37:4; 3 Ne. 26:4, 28:29; Mormon 9:22; Ether 12:27; D&C 1:2, 23, 7:3, 10:51, 18:6, 9, 28, 20:9, 42:58, 58:64, 68:8, 77:8, 80:1, 84:62, 88:84, 103, 107:25, 112:1, 4, 21, 28, 124:3-9, 128, 133:8.

⁶D&C 1:35; 33:6. See also 2 Ne. 26:33; D&C 109:39, 58; 38:16.

they shall be gathered again to the lands of their inheritance" (2 Ne. 6:11). Others dropped the condition and reversed the sequence, however, by quoting verses like: "I would gather them together in my own due time . . . [in] the land of Jerusalem. . . . And it shall come to pass that the time cometh, when the fulness of my gospel shall be preached unto them" (3 Ne. 20:29-30).⁷

But that debate was marginal to a more central effort to reconcile the idea that Israelite descent conferred distinctive spiritual status with the concept that no essential differences existed between Jew and Gentile because "all are alike unto God." Again, the multivalence stemmed from LDS scriptures. Those expressing their belief that blood descendants of Israel belonged *ipso facto* to a spiritual elite cited texts mentioning "the covenant which I have sent forth to recover my people, which are of the house of Israel" (D&C 39:11), while those holding that elect status depended mainly on faithfulness quoted passages like: "The Lord covenanteth with none save it be with them that repent and believe in his Son" and "All those who receive my gospel are sons and daughters in my kingdom."⁸

As if sensing the tension between Israelite descent and universalism, LDS scriptures offered three principles of reconciliation. First, reifying Romans 11:25 ("blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be in"), they adapted another New Testament phrase ("the last shall be first, and the first shall be last") that originally connoted "first" and "last" in *status*, by recasting it in terms of *time*.⁹ Paul had used it to justify taking the gospel to the Gentiles; here, it presages the gospel's eventual redirection back to Israel (Acts 10-11, 13). Meanwhile, the "times of the gentiles" were to continue beyond Joseph Smith's call pending that "fulness." So LDS scriptures defined a universalist epoch (late New Testament-early Restoration) sandwiched between two Israel-oriented ones. Because disagreement occurred over that epoch's nature as well as when and how it would end, however, this principle became an unresolved subissue.

The second principle of reconciliation involved the idea that, besides punishing disobedient Israel, scattering also provided a mechanism to fulfill

⁷For scriptures suggesting the conversion/physical gathering sequence, see 1 Ne. 19:15; 2 Ne. 9:1-2, 10:7-9, 30:7-8; 3 Ne. 16:4-5; Mormon 5:14. For the opposite sequence, physical gathering/conversion, see 3 Ne. 20:13; D&C 45:51-53.

⁸2 Ne. 30:2; D&C 25:1. For the link between the elect and Israelite "blood," see 1 Ne. 19:16; 2 Ne. 21:12; Jacob 5; 3 Ne. 16:5, 21:1; D&C 77:9, 14, 107:40, 110:11, 113:8, 132:30, 133:34; Abr. 1:2-4. For the link between the elect and faithfulness, see 2 Ne. 6:12, 9:23; D&C 10:67-68, 11:30, 34:3, 35:2, 39:4, 41:5, 68:8-9, 84:33-35.

⁹See esp. Luke 13:24-30, then 1 Ne. 13:42; 3 Ne. 20:25-31; Eth. 13:12; D&C 14:10, 29:30, 45:14, 25:30, 90:9, 107:33-35, 133:8.

God's promise to Abraham: "in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 26:4). This principle suggested that Israelites mixed with Gentiles, who would benefit through subsequent conversions, thus gathering the righteous from their midst.¹⁰ Left unanswered, however, were such questions as how thoroughly Israel was scattered—i.e., had Israelite blood diffused into every nation? every person?

The third principle of reconciliation was that of "adoption": Gentile converts to Mormonism would be adopted into the lineage of Israel. A typical expression of this principle is: "But if the gentiles will repent and return unto me, saith the Father, behold they shall be numbered among my people, O house of Israel" (3 Ne. 16:13).¹¹ Thus, virtually from the beginning, Mormons understood themselves as constituting latter-day Israel, but LDS scriptures did not clarify whether they were literal or adoptive Israel. Nephi's vision (especially 1 Nephi 13) implied adoption for the great majority. Yet other passages sounded as if some were Abraham's real progeny: "This [Abrahamic] promise is yours also, because ye [Joseph Smith] are of Abraham."¹²

Moreover, it was unclear whether the distinction mattered—that is, what, if any, differences existed between literal and adopted Israel. Doctrine and Covenants 107:16 stated that "a literal descendant of Aaron" had "a legal right" to the Aaronic priesthood. But that priesthood was an "appendage" to the greater or Melchizedek Priesthood, which LDS scriptures *described* as having at times passed "through the lineage of their fathers" (D&C 84:14-15) while not *prescribing* only such a transmission. Indeed, those who obtained and honored the two priesthoods "*become* the seed of Abraham . . . and the elect of God" (D&C 84:33-34).

In sum, LDS scriptures, while affirming Israelite descent and universalism, did not definitively explain how lineage could be simultaneously pivotal and negligible. They also left several subissues unresolved. As Mor-

¹⁰Some early LDS spokesmen took Paul's position (Gal. 3:13-16) that this scripture was fulfilled in Christ. "The Gospel," *Times and Seasons* 2 (15 March 1841): 345-47. For the conversion/gathering view, see 1 Ne. 13:23, 25, 32-35, 15:6-18, 21:6, 22, 22:6-9; 2 Ne. 10:8-11, 18, 21:10; 3 Ne. 23:24, 28:32, 29:1; D&C 45:9, 86:11, 133:12.

¹¹See also 1 Ne. 14:1-2; 2 Ne. 6:12, 10:18, 26:12, 30:2, 33:9; 3 Ne. 16:6-7, 13, 21:6, 20-25, 30:1-2; Mormon 3:17, 5:9-10; Eth. 2:11; 4:13; Abr. 2:10.

¹²D&C 132:31; see also D&C 103:17 ("For ye [Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight] are the children of Israel and of the seed of Abraham. . ."); and 109:58 ("thy servants, the sons of Jacob"). See also D&C 109:60/86:8-9, 132:31. D&C 133:26-34 paraphrases several Old Testament passages, articulating the idea that the tribe of Ephraim enjoys "the richer blessing" within Israel and perhaps implicitly suggesting that it will play a special role in the gathering.

monism developed over time, these open questions received evolving sets of answers.

Joseph Smith's Personal Writings

Measured quantitatively, Joseph Smith stressed Israelite descent and universalism about equally.¹³ On grounds that "the election of the promised seed still continues," he attested that Mormons "believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes" (Tenth Article of Faith). He made it a priority to preach Mormonism to the Native Americans, whom he identified as "principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph" to whom "the land of America is a promised land."¹⁴ According to Smith, divine promises to Israel outweighed divine judgments against them. "Their unbelief has not rendered the promise of God of none effect," he wrote, "no, for there was another day . . . [when] His people, Israel, should be a willing people."¹⁵ That willingness gave "the literal seed of Abraham" a spiritual advantage over Gentiles. For "as the Holy Ghost falls upon one of the Literal Seed of Abraham it is calm & serene & his whole soul & body are only exercised by the pure spirit of Inteligence; while the effect of the Holy Ghost upon a Gentile is to purge out the old blood & make him actually of the seed of Abraham." This responsiveness was what Jesus meant by: "My sheep hear my voice" (John 10:16, 27). In that sense, at times Joseph Smith equated Israel with the elect: "There will be a feast to Israel, the elect of God."¹⁶ In 1833 Joseph ordained first his father, Joseph Smith Sr. (d.

¹³Joseph Smith did not attempt to construct a systematic, comprehensive theology (see John W. Welch and David J. Whittaker, "Mormonism's Open Canon," FARMS preliminary report, 1987), although his 1833 letter to Mr. "Seaton" (Saxton) and his 1842 letter to Mr. Wentworth were comprehensive summaries. Joseph Smith et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902-32), 1:312-15; *Times and Seasons* 3 no. 9 (1 March 1842): 706-10, reprinted in *History of the Church* 4:535-41. Smith's references to gathering and election were thus scattered throughout his many speeches and writings.

¹⁴*History of the Church*, 4:360, 537, 541; 1:315. Smith also reaffirmed the Old Testament idea that divine judgments against an individual will be inherited by that person's descendants; those who had persecuted him, he stated, "shall not have right to the Priesthood, nor their descendants after them, from generation to generation." *Ibid.*, 3:294.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 1:313. "Another day . . . willing people" was Joseph's conflation of Psalms 110:3 and Jeremiah 31:31-33. See also *History of the Church* 5:423-27. He also frequently articulated the idea that gathering required conversion. *Ibid.*, 4:226-32.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 3:380; 2:197. See also *ibid.*, 1:313, 4:8, and W. James Mortimer, "Patriarchal Blessings," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1066-67.

1840), and then his brother Hyrum (d. 1844) to the office of Church Patriarch, a important function of which was to bestow on Church members patriarchal blessings that declared their lineages from particular tribes of Israel.

Joseph Smith's regard for Israel's literal seed contributed to his often expressed philosemitism, including expectations that the Jews would soon be gathered—in both geographical and conversionist senses. But his feeling included sympathy for the Jewish people per se. He criticized anti-Jewish legislation in Italy, for example, while applauding the United Kingdom's legal emancipation of Jews. In contrast, the "seed of Cain" (blacks) continued under judgment.¹⁷

Along with his regard for Israelite lineages, Joseph Smith affirmed the restored gospel's universalism. He stressed that all men and women were children of God, who loved each one: "The Great Parent of the universe looks upon the whole of the human family with a fatherly care and paternal regard; He views them as His offspring, and without any of those contracted feelings that influence the children of men." Consequently, "those who aspire to be the sons of God" ought to cultivate the same godly feelings. "A man filled with the love of God is not content with blessing his family alone, but ranges throughout the whole world, anxious to bless the whole human race." He instructed his apostles: "God does not love you better or more than others. . . . The soul of one man is as precious as the soul of another." Moreover, "all must be saved on the same principles." Each of God's children thus deserved an opportunity to choose salvation. The parable of the prodigal son "does not refer to Abraham, Israel or the Gentiles, in a national capacity, as some suppose," explained Smith. "It was for men in an individual capacity"—as was, he continued, the parable of the lost lamb. "Therefore we believe in preaching the doctrine of repentance in all the world, both to old and young, rich and poor, bond and free."¹⁸

¹⁷For the geographical gathering of the Jews, see *History of the Church* 1:312-15; 2:357-8; 4:112; 5:336-7; 6:318-21. For conversionist gathering, see *ibid.*, 2:397, 4:226-32; and Dean C. Jesse, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 661-62 note 182. For philosemitism, see "Persecution of the Jews," *Times and Seasons* 4, no. 22 (1 October 1843): 347-49; "The Jews," *ibid.*, 3 (15 February 1842): 691-93; "Rabbi Hersch's Essays on Israel's Duties in Dispersion," *ibid.* (15 March 1842): 725. For the "seed of Canaan," Smith stated that "the curse is not yet taken off from the sons of Canaan, neither will be until it is affected by as great a power as caused it to come." *History of the Church*, 2:436-40, esp. 438.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 1:283. This statement included blacks who "came into the world slaves, mentally and physically. [But] change their situation with the whites, and they would be like them. They have souls, and are subjects of salvation." *Ibid.*, 5:217.

In short, Joseph Smith sometimes identified the elect as righteous individuals who, regardless of lineage, responded positively to the message.

After Smith's assassination in 1844, Orson Pratt and Brigham Young worked out alternative solutions, the former emphasizing universalism and the latter stressing lineage.

Orson Pratt's Solution

Parley P. Pratt was the chief pamphleteer of early Mormonism, while his younger brother Orson—rare among 1830s converts because he possessed some formal education—emerged as the most articulate intellectual of nineteenth-century Utah.¹⁹ Orson Pratt, drawing on universalist elements in LDS scriptures and teachings by Parley Pratt and Joseph Smith, constructed the theology that the Jews would convert before their geographical gathering, that the Gentiles would have every opportunity to embrace the restored gospel even though their “time” would be relatively short, and that salvation was available on the same terms for every creature in all nations.

Both Pratts affirmed that, although the Jews were scattered for rejecting the higher covenant, they would yet soon be gathered to Jerusalem after they converted.²⁰ “To the Jews we would say—turn from your sins and seek

¹⁹Peter Crawley, “Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 13-26. Parley's declarations about gathering and election, like Joseph Smith's, emphasized lineage and universalism about equally. He affirmed that Israelite seed had a hereditary right to the Melchizedek Priesthood to fulfill the promise to Abraham that his seed would bless the nations. Gen. 12:3; D&C 84:6-17; Parley P. Pratt, 10 April 1853, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 1:256-63, esp. 261; Breck England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985); and David J. Whittaker, “Orson Pratt: Prolific Pamphleteer,” *Dialogue* 15 (Autumn 1982): 27-41. According to T. Edgar Lyon, “Orson Pratt: Early Mormon Leader” (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1932); 108, “Orson Pratt did more to formulate the Mormon idea of God, the religious basis of polygamy, the preexistence of spirits, the doctrine of the Gathering of Israel, the resurrection, and eternal salvation than any other person in the Church, with the exception of Joseph Smith.” For tension between Orson Pratt and Brigham Young on other issues, see Gary J. Bergera, “The Orson Pratt-Brigham Young Controversies: Conflict within the Quorums, 1853 to 1868,” *Dialogue* 13 (Summer 1980): 7-49.

²⁰For scattering, see Parley P. Pratt, *A Voice of Warning* (1837; 9th ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1874): 23, 56, 59; and his *Key to the Science of Theology* (Liverpool, 1855; 3rd ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1874), chap. 2; Orson Pratt, 26 March 1871, *Journal of Discourses*, 14:58-70, esp. 59-60 and 11 February 1872, *ibid.*, 14:323-35, esp. 332. For gathering, see Parley Pratt, “Letter to Queen Victoria,”

the God of your fathers,” wrote Parley P. Pratt in his “Address to the Jews”: “Then obtain a copy of the Book of Mormon, and search that with the same degree of candor and earnestness, and I think . . . you will be constrained to say, That Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ. . . . We have now shown you the door of admission into the kingdom of God, into which you would do well to enter.”²¹

In 1859 Orson Pratt declared that “the main part of them [the Jews] will believe while yet scattered,” implying that the physical gathering would result from conversion. By 1872, however, impressed perhaps by actual Jewish (pre-Zionist) migration to Palestine, he conceded that “the Jews, or many of them, will gather back to Jerusalem in a state of unbelief in the true Messiah.” Yet he insisted that an acceptable temple “will undoubtedly be built by those who believe in the true Messiah,” thus implying conversion.²²

Regarding the times of the Gentiles’ fulfillment, Parley affirmed in general terms: “We believe that the gathering of Israel, and the second advent of the Messiah . . . are near at hand,” while Orson, a mathematician, noted that Doctrine & Covenants 45, given March 1831, declared that “the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled . . . in the generation” when “a light shall break forth,” an event he equated with the Book of Mormon’s translation. Orson Pratt kept his eye on the passage of “the generation.” Speaking in 1855, he commented that twenty-four years had elapsed, later announcing when thirty-nine, forty, and forty-two years had passed but without specifying what constituted the passage of “the generation.”²³

Meanwhile, Parley Pratt made a traditional Christian argument in favor of the Gentiles’ unrestricted access to the gospel: “There were no natural-born subjects of that kingdom” of God in New Testament times, “for both Jew and Gentile were included in sin and unbelief; and none could be citizens without the law of adoption.” Faith, repentance, baptism, and the gift of the Holy Ghost were how Jesus “did adopt the Jews into the

Manchester, 1841, reprinted in Jerry Burnett and Charles Pope, eds. *Pre-assassination Writings of Parley P. Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Mormon Heritage Publications, 1976), 10; Parley P. Pratt, *Voice of Warning*, 27, 32-35, 42, 99, 145, 164; “Restoration of the Jews,” *Millennial Star* 1, no. 1 (May 1840): 18-19; Orson Pratt, 9 April 1871, *Journal of Discourses*, 14:271-76; *ibid.*, 14:333.

²¹Parley P. Pratt, “Address to the Jews,” *Millennial Star* 14 (18 September 1852): 468-69.

²²*Ibid.*; Orson Pratt, 10 July 1859, *Journal of Discourses*, 7:176-90, esp. 187; 10 March 1872, 14:343-56, esp. 352; 18 May 1877, 19:8-20, esp. 20.

²³Parley P. Pratt, *An Address . . . to the People of England*, 3; Orson Pratt, 7 April 1855, *Journal of Discourses* 2:259-66, esp. 261-62, and 26 March 1871, 14:62; 9 April 1871, 14:275, 9 April 1871 14:332.

kingdom on the day of Pentecost." These same processes were still available to all Gentiles because the Lord had commanded his apostles to preach to every creature."²⁴

Orson Pratt held the same position but relied on new emphases in LDS scriptures: a premortal existence and human beings as God's spirit children. In his pioneering treatise on preexistence, Orson conceded that "our condition when we enter this world [depends] upon our conduct before we were born," but each spirit arrives "deprived of all his former knowledge, . . . that he might have a second trial or probation under new circumstances." Thus, although the times of the Gentiles would be short, "the Lord commences His work for the gathering of his people by lifting up His hand to the Gentiles, . . . not for the Jews . . . alone, but for every nation, kindred, tongue, and people." He interpreted Acts 2:39, which promised spiritual rebirth "to all afar off" as meaning that "every creature on the face of the earth that has the gospel preached to him has the promise of the Holy Ghost, if he or she will yield obedience." The inclination to obey, he stressed, did not come from possessing the "blood of Israel" but by being a spirit child of God.²⁵

Universalism was not the dominant position at the time, but Orson Pratt found an ally in fellow apostle Orson Hyde. "Whether we sprang from Judah, Ephraim, Manasseh or from a tribe of Gentile origin," he insisted, ". . . whoever receive the Gospel and are moulded and fashioned by the spirit of the living God, will be entitled to a place in the kingdom of our Heavenly Father."²⁶

Brigham Young's Solution

Brigham Young, as presiding authority of the Church from 1844 until his death in 1877, lacked formal education and was more influenced than Orson Pratt by New England Puritanism's "new Israel" tradition and by the race-consciousness of the Civil War-Reconstruction eras. He solved the dynamic debate between universalism and lineage by stressing lineage, a position also held by John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Joseph Young, Brigham's brother. In this view, the "curse" would eventually be removed from "cursed" lineages and Ephraim's descendants, the elect, would be gathered during the times of the Gentiles.

"Who will not be saved?" Brigham Young asked rhetorically. "Those who have received the truth . . . and then rejected it." The posterity of the

²⁴Parley P. Pratt, *Voice of Warning*, 66-67, 70, 159, 161.

²⁵Orson Pratt: "The Pre-existence of Man," *The Seer* 1 (February-September 1853): 56, 71-72, 100, 102; "The Zion of Enoch," *ibid.*, 1 (October 1853): 261-65.

²⁶Hyde, 7 October 1862, *Journal of Discourses*, 10:112-13.

disobedient would also be rejected because "not only did God foreknow the wicked and predestinate them, but he also foreknew the righteous and predestinated them . . . because their fathers heard the Gospel, and most of them rejected it; and the curse of the Almighty is upon them, and upon their posterity until they have wrought out their salvation by suffering; for the last shall be first and the first shall be last."²⁷

Brigham Young's solution arranged "cursed lineages" into a three-tier classification with the Lamanites (American Indians) on top. They were cursed because "their fathers" had "violated the order of God, which was formerly among them." Still the Lamanites' wickedness was "light in comparison" to the Jews because they "took a course through which they were afflicted and scattered among the nations of the earth, and brought upon themselves that which they said—'Let this man's blood be upon us and our children.'" Their curse is that "they will be the last of all the seed of Abraham to have the privilege of receiving the New and Everlasting Covenant." He viewed their physical gathering as penance: "They cannot have the benefit of the atonement until they gather to Jerusalem, for they said, let his blood be upon us and upon our children, consequently, they cannot believe in him until his second coming." In fact, "a Jew cannot now believe in Jesus Christ."²⁸

However, the lineage under the severest judgment, according to Brigham Young's classification, was that of Cain. They were the first cursed and "they will be the last from whom the curse will be removed. . . . When all the other children of Adam have had the privilege of receiving the Priesthood, and of coming into the kingdom of God, and being redeemed from the four quarters of the earth, and have received their resurrection from the dead, then it will be time enough to remove the curse from Cain and his posterity."²⁹ Young's taxonomy of cursed lineages thus correlated

²⁷Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*: 6 April 1860, 8:35; 28 September 1862, 10:5; 3 December 1854, 2:142. See also Brigham Young and Willard Richards, "Election and Reprobation," *Millennial Star* 1 (January 1841): 217-25; George A. Smith, 23 September 1855, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:29-37, esp. 30.

²⁸Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*: 8 May 1853, 1:106; 3 December 1854, 2:143; 5 August 1860, 8:131; 3 December 1854, 2:142; 3 December 1866, 11:279. See also *ibid.*, 10 February 1867, 11:321-29, esp. p. 327. Joseph Young, 13 July 1855, *ibid.*, 9:229-33, stated, "Many good men made great blunders upon the subject of redeeming Israel"—perhaps referring to Orson Pratt—. . . [B]ut our long experience has proved . . . the folly of making great calculations beforehand." He advised Mormons to treat Indians kindly but not to expect their conversion in the near future. See also Wilford Woodruff, 25 February 1855, *ibid.*, 2:191-202, esp. 201.

²⁹Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*: 9 October 1859, 7:291; see also *ibid.*,

with phases of the restored gospel's diffusion: Lamanites in the distant but foreseeable future, Jews after their physical gathering at Christ's second coming, and blacks in the resurrection.

Young regarded all Gentile lineages as also being under judgment. Indeed, he defined the term "Gentile" as applying "only to those who reject the gospel, and will not submit to and receive the plan of salvation." While "some of pure gentile blood will come into this Church," they are and will be "very few." Therefore, "when we send to the nations we do not seek for the Gentiles, because they are disobedient and rebellious."³⁰

Thus a key part of Young's solution was that the times of the Gentiles were not for gathering righteous Gentiles at all; rather, they were for gathering, out of the Gentile nations, Ephraimites (who apparently had already expiated their biblical judgment). "Ephraim has become mixed with all the nations of the earth, and it is Ephraim that is gathering together," he said. "It is Ephraim that I have been searching for all the days of my preaching, and that is the blood which ran in my veins when I embraced the Gospel." Young hinted that the descendants of Ephraim, whom he fleetingly linked to "the Anglo-Saxon race," were gathered first in the latter days to provide spiritual leadership for the other promised lineages. "Where are the Ephraimites?" he asked. "They are mixed through all the nations of the earth. God is calling upon them to gather out, and He is uniting them, and they are giving the Gospel to the whole world." Young emphasized that, as Ephraimites, Latter-day Saints were the main current beneficiaries of Abraham's birthright: "You understand who we are; we are of the House of Israel, of the royal seed, of the royal blood."³¹

Thus, after Joseph Smith's death in 1844, Orson Pratt and Brigham Young offered rival solutions to the open lineage-universalism relationship. Emphasizing universalism, Pratt saw the brief times of the Gentiles as a real opportunity for every creature in all nations—God's spiritual offspring—to embrace the restored gospel and join the elect. Not distinguishing adopted from literal Israel, he also anticipated an early conversionist gathering for Lamanites and "Judah." Using traditional explanations (divine foreknowledge, inherited curses) and stressing lineage, Young arrayed groupings still under judgment into degrees of severity correlating with seasons of eligibility to receive the gospel (Lamanites:later, Judah:second coming, Cain's

3 December 1854, 2:142-43; 19 August 1866, 11:272.

³⁰Ibid., 16 August 1868, 12:270; 8 April 1855, 2:268.

³¹Ibid., 8 April 1855, 2:268; 31 May 1863, 10:188; 29 May 1870, 13:175; 8 April 1855, 2:269. For Young's other flattering references to Anglo-Saxons, see *ibid.*, 7 February 1858, 6:193-94, 8 July 1863, 10:232.

seed:resurrection). Meanwhile, he regarded the times of the Gentiles as an era for gathering literal descendants of Ephraim as the elect.

THE TRANSITIONAL CENTURY (1878-1978)

Brigham Young's lineage primacy, owing to his prophetic office and its more numerous devotees³²—including several second- and third-generation Church officers—dominated LDS pronouncements about gathering and election during 1878-1978. Yet Orson Pratt's universalism was kept alive by a few voices, who tended (like B. H. Roberts and John A. Widtsoe) to be first-generation leaders from academic backgrounds. In emphasizing lineage or universalism, respectively, each group deemphasized but did not repudiate the rival concept.³³ In responding to contemporary developments,³⁴ each group also modified the original solutions of Brigham Young and Orson Pratt.

The Young Solution after Brigham Young

Those who perpetuated Young's views reiterated that Lamanites and Cain's seed continued under divine judgment. Statements like that of Wilford Woodruff about the Lamanites—"the Lord put a curse of redness upon them"—typically were followed by qualifiers like: "The Latter-day Saints are

³²These included Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Charles W. Penrose, Orson F. Whitney, George Reynolds, Joseph Fielding Smith, Bruce R. McConkie, and James Henry Anderson (1857-1934), who was *Deseret News* city editor, chair of the Salt Lake County Commission, chair of Utah's Republican Party, U.S. marshal for Utah, *Millennial Star* editor, and board member of the Utah Genealogical Society and of the YMMIA, 1907-30. Andrew Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:1-4; and obituary, *Deseret News*, 20 October 1934, 9.

³³For example, some of Penrose's universalist pronouncements appeared in his *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888): "God is the Father of the human race" (11); the Melchizedek Priesthood does "not depend upon lineage" (20); the saving ordinances of the restored gospel "are uniform for all people, of both sexes, of every race and of every grade of society" (23); and "The members of the Church are all united by a fraternal bond. They are all brethren and sisters, no matter what their condition in life, no matter of what nationality" (25). Conversely, in his *Seventy's Course in Theology: First Year* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1907): 160, Roberts stated that "the negro is markedly inferior to the Caucasian."

³⁴Perhaps the most important national trend was Reconstruction-era segregation that lasted until it was gradually dismantled after the mid-twentieth century. Internationally, the rise of Jewish nationalists or secular Zionists began colonizing Palestine after about 1881, culminating in the creation of Israel in 1948. Whatever their links to lineage primacy or universalism, many LDS spokesmen of 1877-1978 considered Zionist migration to Palestine and the founding of Israel to be religiously significant events.

looking forward to the time when the prophecies will be fulfilled concerning the Indians."³⁵ Expectations for blacks were less sanguine, however, as Young's torchbearers not only reaffirmed the curse but elaborated new rationales for it.³⁶ Foremost among these was the preexistence concept, which increasingly replaced Young's own explanations of inherited curses and divine foreknowledge but without Orson Pratt's stress on the "second trial." Thus an unsigned 1903 *Millennial Star* editorial answered a question ("Why one child should be born heir to the Priesthood and another cursed as pertaining to it") by appealing "to the doctrine of the preexistence of spirits." Between the spirits who followed Satan and the "noble and great ones" seen by Abraham (Abr. 3:22), reasoned the author, "there were doubtless indifferent ones who were not good enough to fight for God, and not bad enough to join themselves to Lucifer." The Lord "allowed" them "to come on earth, but under the curse of the dark skin and, worse than that, under the curse as pertaining to the Priesthood."³⁷ The main official spokesmen for this position became George Q. Cannon, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Bruce R. McConkie; and their apologetics stiffened in the face of twentieth-century desegregation and the civil rights movement.³⁸

³⁵Wilford Woodruff, "Discourse," *Millennial Star* 51 (3 June 1889): 337-39; and "B.," "What Will Become of the American Indians?," *ibid.*, 57 (17 January 1895): 40-41. See also George Reynolds, "Are We of Israel?" *Millennial Star* 40 (19 August 1878): 513-15; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 391-92.

³⁶As Young's proponents became concerned with racial purity, they explained Joseph's Egyptian wife as being of Hyksos, therefore Semitic descent, not Hamitic. Joseph Fielding Smith, "Ephraim and Manasseh True Israelites," *Improvement Era* 24 (December 1920): 172-73.

³⁷"Are Negroes Children of Adam?" (editorial) *Millennial Star* 65 (3 December 1903): 777.

³⁸Orson Hyde had first suggested that the descendants of Cain/Ham had vacillated "at the time the devil was cast out of heaven." *Speech of Orson Hyde, Delivered before the High Priests' Quorum, in Nauvoo, April 27th, 1845*. . . . (Liverpool: James & Woodburn, 1845): 30. Brigham Young disagreed: "There were no neutral spirit[s] in Heaven. . . . All spirits are pure that came from the presence of God. The posterity of Cain are black because he committed murder." Wilford Woodruff's Journal, typescript paragraph, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), 25 December 1869, 3, LDS Church Archives. Only after Young died did supporters of lineage primacy use the preexistence justification for the curse on Cain's seed. George Q. Cannon: "The Mark of Cain," *Juvenile Instructor* 26 (15 October 1891): 635-36; "The Negro Race," *Juvenile Instructor* 29 (15 July 1894): 450. In the latter article, a reader queried whether "the negro race formed the third, or neutral, party in heaven at the time of the great rebellion." Cannon replied: "There is nothing

Young's followers repeated his views on the lineage of Judah, still continuing under judgment, so "the Jews will not as a body become converted to the Savior until He descends for their protection." Consequently, "no direct and particular effort has yet been made by this Church toward the conversion of that race . . . because the appointed time has not yet come." Jewish migrants to the Holy Land "will be unbelievers in Jesus of Nazareth."³⁹ Because the holders of this position deemed geographical gathering an act of penance, it preceded conversionist gathering. As Joseph Fielding Smith put it, "The curse has been taken off the land and before many years have passed away they will again be worthy to enter into covenant with the Lord." Yet covenant-related title to the Holy Land remained conditional upon conversion; according to Anthon H. Lund, "when they do believe in Him that land shall be given them again as their inheritance."⁴⁰

Young's disciples elaborated his characterization of gathering as the

written as the word of the Lord upon this subject; but many of the Elders have indulged in the supposition that this was the case." Joseph Fielding Smith: "The Negro and the Priesthood," *Improvement Era* 27 (April 1924): 564-55; *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1931): 97-111; *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957-66), 1:169-71, 2:173-78, 184-88, 4:169-72, 5:162-64; *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith*, compiled by Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954-56), 1:61, 65-66, 2:55. He stated that there were "no neutrals in heaven," but "some sinned before birth." *Way to Perfection*, 44, 105-6: "There were many who did not join the rebellious forces, but who were not valiant. Because of their lack of obedience, they were not deprived of receiving bodies, but came here under restrictions. One of those restrictions is that they were denied the priesthood. They may come into the Church, but they are not privileged to obtain the priesthood in this life. . . . [I]f faithful to the end, then in the next existence and in the due time of the Lord the restrictions placed upon them in the first existence will be removed." *Answers to Gospel Questions* 5:163. For Bruce R. McConkie's emphasis on nonvaliant spirits, see *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958): 102, 107-8, 314, 476-77, 553-54. See also James H. Anderson, *God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1944); John J. Stewart, *Mormonism and the Negro* (Orem, Utah: Community Press Publishing Co., 1960); John Lewis Lund, *The Church and the Negro* (Salt Lake City: Paramount Publishers, 1967).

³⁹*Millennial Star*: "A People Scattered and Peeled," (editorial), 44 (23 January 1882): 57; "Jews in Jerusalem" (editorial), 51 (18 November 1889): 726. See also C[harles] F. Wilcox [member of the Deseret Sunday School Union], "Fulfillment of Prophecy—Gathering of the Jews," *ibid.*, 43 (11 July 1881): 446-48; E. H. Lund, "The Return of the Jews," *Improvement Era* 21 (July 1918): 773-79; *ibid.*, 21 (August 1918): 880-85.

⁴⁰Smith, *The Way to Perfection*, 135; Anthon H. Lund, *Conference Report*, October 1898, 10-13.

assembling of Ephraim and his definition of the elect as Israel's literal seed. Quoting Young's address of 8 October 1855, George Reynolds, Young's former secretary and one of the First Council of Seventy (1890-1909), correlated lineage with priesthood leadership: "In the order of the higher law, the priesthood belongs to the first-born. Ephraim is God's adopted first-born in all the races of mankind." According to Joseph Fielding Smith, "It is Ephraim who is now being gathered from among the nations. It is essential in this dispensation that Ephraim stand in his place at the head, exercising the birthright in Israel which was given to him by direct revelation. Therefore, Ephraim must be gathered first to prepare the way."⁴¹

As the post-1877 rationale on lineage shifted from divine foreknowledge (Young's) to the preexistence, this latter concept came increasingly to rationalize the Young school's portrayal of Ephraimites as the elect by virtue of lineage. In 1885 Charles W. Penrose, a future apostle, asserted that "predestination" (Brigham Young's term, meaning election) "cannot be fully understood apart from the doctrine of preexistence." That is, on the basis of premortal progression, choice spirits were assigned Ephraimite lineage; Orson Whitney called this concept "the blood that believes" and McConkie "believing blood."⁴² Elaborated Henry H. Blood, "What was true of individuals as to their calling to particular work was true also in a collective sense of tribes and races. . . . Hence we find a preferment was given to a chosen group of spirits who were assigned to come through a special lineage—the lineage of faithful Abraham and Isaac and Jacob."⁴³ Young's torchbearers thus in effect situated individuals' most important soteriological choices in the "first estate." Consequently, according to Whitney, "there

⁴¹Reynolds, "Are We of Israel?," *Millennial Star* 40 (11 November 1878): 707. See also Reynolds, "Are We of Israel?" *ibid.*, 40 (26 August 1878): 705-7; Brigham Young, Jr., "Discourse," *Millennial Star* 57 (22 August 1895): 529-32; Charles W. Penrose, "Rays of Living Light, no. 11," *Millennial Star* 60 (15 September 1898): 588-92; see also Joseph Fielding Smith: "The Mission of Ephraim," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 21 (January 1930): 1-4, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 5:70-74 and *Doctrines of Salvation* 3:250-53.

⁴²Charles W. Penrose, "Election, Foreknowledge and Predestination," *Millennial Star* 47 (12 October 1885): 548-53; Orson F. Whitney, "The Dispersion and the Gathering of Israel," *ibid.*, 86 (9 October 1924): 657; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 77-78 and his *Mortal Messiah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979-81), 4:332. See also Charles W. Penrose, "Who Are the Elect?" *Millennial Star* 49 (18 April 1887): 248-51.

⁴³Henry H. Blood, "Israel: The Savior of the Nations," *Millennial Star* 65 (16 July 1903): 450. Blood was then president of the North Davis Stake; he later served as Democratic governor of Utah (1933-41) and president of the California Mission. Obituary, *Deseret News*, 20 June 1942, 1, 3.

was a House of Israel in heaven before there was a Hebrew nation on earth." Other ancestries were sometimes compared negatively with this "favored lineage"; "it was arranged before we came here how we should come, and through what lineage we should come," said George Q. Cannon. "We were not born of the seed of Ham; we were not born of some questionable race."⁴⁴

Young's followers also elaborated his reference to "the Anglo-Saxon race" by seeking to correlate missionary success in various European nations with the gathering of Ephraimites. The main voice belonged to George Reynolds, who tried to document the migration route of the lost tribes of Israel to northwestern Europe. In doing so, he discovered the decades-old tradition of "Anglo-Israelism," an English Social Darwinist movement that claimed spiritual and sociocultural superiority on the grounds that the Anglo-Saxon race sprang from biblical Israel.⁴⁵ In his pamphlet *Are We of*

⁴⁴Orson F. Whitney, "The House of Israel," *Millennial Star* 81 (1 May 1919): 273-76; George Q. Cannon, "The Law of Adoption," *ibid.*, 56 (4 June 1894):356. See also Orson F. Whitney, "Work of the Children of Abraham," *ibid.*, 54 (15 February 1892): 97-101; George Q. Cannon, "Our Pre-existence and Present Probation," *ibid.*, 52 (8 December 1890): 769-72, and 52 (15 December 1890): 785-87.

⁴⁵George Reynolds cites four names: Searon [Sharon] Turner, J. Wilson, Ed. Hine, and C. P. Smyth. The British Museum and Library of Congress catalogs include the following titles which Reynolds might have consulted. Sharon Turner (1768-1847): *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from their first Appearance above the Elbe, to the Conquest of Egbert*, 4 vols. (London, 1799-1805; six later editions); *Prolusions on the Present Greatness of Britain* (London, 1819); "On the Asiatic Origin of the Anglo-Saxons," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* (London, 1834). John Wilson (1799-1870): *Our Israelitish Origin: Lectures on Ancient Israel and the Israelitish Origin of the Modern Nations of Europe* (Liverpool, 1840; many later London and New York editions); *Sketches of Some of the Scriptural Evidences Respecting the So-called Lost House of Israel* (Bath, 1843); *Sixty Anglo-Israel Difficulties Answered* (London, 1878), published posthumously by his daughter. Edward Hine (1825-91): *The English Nation Identified with the Lost Tribes of Israel* (Manchester, 1871); the New York edition (1871) was titled *The English and American Nation Identified with the Lost House of Israel*; also *Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* (London, 1874); *Abram's Seed a Literal . . . and not a Spiritual Seed* ([London?], 1877). Charles Piazza Smyth (1819-1900), whose publications focused mainly on occult knowledge to be gained from the Egyptian pyramids, frequently contributed to *Our Race: Its Origin and Destiny*, published in New Haven, Connecticut, 1891-1908 by Our Race Publishing Co.; and its successor, *Our Race Quarterly* (1909-17), and its still-later revival: *Destiny: A Journal of American Life and Destiny* (1930-35), published at Haverhill, Massachusetts, by the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. These periodicals were devoted to Anglo-Israelism and scientific racism. See also the discussion of Anglo-Israelism in Armand Mauss, "In

*Israel?*⁴⁶ Reynolds appropriated Anglo-Israelism to achieve the desired correlation between Ephraim's seed and Teutonic Europe, borrowing both its conclusion "that many of the races inhabiting Europe are impregnated with the blood of Israel" and its rather tenuous evidence. This "proof" included allusions in the apocryphal books of Esdras to the lost tribes existing in the North; etymological assumptions that the Danube River and the land of Denmark can be linked to the tribe of Dan, Gottland to the tribe of Gad, and Saxon to "the son of Isaac"; and physical anthropological assertions such as that "the form of the Jewish and Saxon heads, and the great beauty of both races has been advanced as a proof of common ancestry."⁴⁷ Following Penrose's lead in attributing spirituality to "the abiding laws of heredity" and relying on Reynolds's appropriations, LDS spokesmen for lineage primacy asserted: "There is no doubt that the British nation is blessed with having the blood of Ephraim mixed in its veins, descended from the stock of Old Scandinavians." Because "the blessings of the favored race were imparted to the Scandinavian nations," these people have "receive[d] the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in such large numbers" while "among the Latin Races, the Gospel has not been received, because of the absence of the Ephraimic or Israelitish blood."⁴⁸ Reynolds's claims were reiterated, notably by Joseph Fielding Smith and Bruce R. McConkie.⁴⁹ James H. Anderson took this idea the furthest toward patent racism by claiming that the Anglo-Saxon race "has preserved its racial identity and characteristics with an exclusiveness and inviolability truly marvelous" and that "from the An-

Search of Ephraim: Traditional Mormon Conceptions of Lineage and Race," this issue.

⁴⁶George Reynolds, *Are We of Israel?* (Salt Lake City: Perry & Co., 1883; 5 subsequent editions); serialized in *Millennial Star* 40 (19 August-11 November 1878): 513-15, 531-32, 544-47, 562-64, 577-79, 595-96, 609-11, 627-28, 641-44, 661-63, 686-87, 705-7.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 531, 611, 596, 642, 661.

⁴⁸A[ibert] Jones, "Abraham," *Millennial Star* 47 (17 August 1885): 516. See also Henry Blood, "Israel: The Savior of the Nations," *Millennial Star* 65 (16 July 1903): 449-54; Erastus Snow, 6 May 1882, *Journal of Discourses* 23:181-89, esp. 186. Albert Jones (1839-1925) served as a high councilor and clerk of the tithing office in Provo, where he also performed civic functions (constable, alderman, justice of the peace—even coroner). In 1884 he was called on a mission to Great Britain, where he helped edit the *Millennial Star*. See his diaries, Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, mss. 346.

⁴⁹Joseph F. Smith, "Discourse," *Millennial Star* 68 (30 August 1906): 545-49, esp. 547; Charles W. Penrose, "The 'Lost Tribes' and the Restoration," *ibid.*, 71 (4 November 1909): 696-701; Smith, *The Way to Perfection*, 138-39; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 416-17.

glo-Saxon line of English Protestantism came the great prophet of the latter days."⁵⁰

Unofficial LDS voices took Anglo-Israelism even further. For example, Earl W. Harmer's *Our Destiny: A Brief Historical Outline of God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present*, was constructed on explicitly racial foundations. "Race is a great fact and cannot be evaded," he wrote. "Men belong to different races, as trees belong to different varieties. . . . We should not speak carelessly of race. It means too much." On that base Harmer built his argument, incorporating materials written by Henry Ford's associate W. J. Cameron for the white supremacist magazine *Destiny* and including a section entitled "Anglo-Saxon Supremacy." In it Harmer dated "Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the world" to Lord Nelson's defeat of Napoleon (1815). He also asserted that "the world expansion of the United States and Great Britain, the two great Anglo-Saxon or Israel nations, dates from that period. And so does the appearance of the modern prophet Joseph Smith, racially an Anglo-Saxon, as a claimant to the leadership of the birthright, Ephraim."⁵¹ Anderson and Harmer—along with other LDS Anglo-Israelists like Ernest Whitehead and Albert Bell—tended like de Gobineau (1816-82), the father of "scientific racism," to include Jews as part of the superior white race.⁵²

While the Young solution was reformulated in terms of preexistence and expanded to embrace Anglo-Israelism, some aspects were softened as certain spokesmen tried to reconcile judgment and lineage primacy with other values. For example, Penrose qualified Young's assertion that no Jew

⁵⁰James H. Anderson, "From Abraham to Modern Britain—Racial Traits," *Millennial Star* 90 (24 May 1928): 323, 326; in his *God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1944), 16-17, 45-46, 85, 92-92. Anderson defined "covenant race" partly in terms of racial superiority and purity.

⁵¹Earl Harmer, *Joseph Smith and Our Destiny: A Brief Historical Outline of God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1940), 102-3. According to his obituary, *Deseret News*, 15 April 1967, p. 4-B, Harmer was a member of "High Priest Presidency" of Salt Lake Park Stake and of the Salt Lake City Realty Board. His *Joseph Smith and Our Destiny* had three subsequent editions (1942, 1960, 1967), the last being titled *Our Destiny*. Another of his books, *Some Suggestions for Latter-day Saint Missionaries from the Field of Successful Commercial Salesmanship* experienced at least six editions.

⁵²See Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Paris: Didot, 1853); J. Hatton Carpenter (patriarch of South Sanpete Stake, Manti), "Preservation of the Purity of Israel's Race," *Utah Genealogical and History Magazine* 21 (October 1930): 163-71; Albert W. Bell (Ogden Stake high councilman), *The Mighty Drama of Israel and the Jew* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallace, 1949), 164, 216.

could believe in Christ; “as a nation” they would not believe until the second coming, he said, but individual Jews might do so. Joseph Fielding Smith rejected the idea that “the iniquity of the fathers” is visited upon the children because “the second article of faith contradicts this foolish and erroneous doctrine.” Thus, unless “their own sins” occurred in the preexistence, “the real meaning of this visiting of the iniquity is that when a man transgresses he teaches his children to transgress.” Joseph Fielding also muted Young’s negative statements about Gentiles: “Latter-day Saints pride themselves because they are of Israel; but they are also of the Gentiles.”⁵³

The Pratt Solution after Orson Pratt

Just as Young’s views found new voices after 1877, so did those of Orson Pratt after his death in 1881. Young’s successor John Taylor abandoned lineage primacy for universalism—at least on the issue of Anglo-Saxonism. “We have people among us from all parts of the United States . . . and from every civilized country,” he noted. “Are we Scandinavians; are we English?” His answer in effect rebuked race-consciousness: “No; the Spirit of God, which we obtained through obedience to the requirements of the Gospel; having been born again, of the water and of the Spirit, has made us of one heart, one faith, one baptism; we have no national or class divisions of that kind among us.”⁵⁴

Pratt’s torchbearers often reiterated this theme: “One of the grand things about this new dispensation is that it is a work in which all may take part,” wrote B. H. Roberts. “It is not confined to the few gifted sons of Israel.” John Nicholson, editor of *Millennial Star*, an editor at the *Deseret News*, and recorder at the Salt Lake Temple, agreed: “[Christ] came to save *all*, without distinction[,] that would be saved.” Heber J. Grant elaborated this theme in his “Address to the Japanese”: “[God] commands His children in every class and creed and position and color, to turn from their evil ways, repent of their sins and approach to Him in spirit.” Because each faithful person must experience faith, repentance, baptism, and the Holy Ghost, explained Nephi Anderson, “the Gospel saves one exactly as it saves another.” Moreover, he suggested, distinctions of social rank or blood lineage are alien to God’s kingdom: “All who take upon themselves the name of Christ . . . become one body, and [are] equal in all respects before God.”

⁵³Penrose, *Rays of Living Light* (Liverpool, 1898; Independence, Mo., Zion’s Printing and Publishing Co., 1933): 78; Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 1:83, 139-41; see also *ibid.*, 4:36-41, 200-207, 5:156-57; See also McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 652, 775.

⁵⁴John Taylor, 11 February 1883, *Journal of Discourses* 24:3; see also *ibid.*, 23:368-76, 24:1-8.

In other words, being of latter-day Israel and so of the elect have to do with faithfulness rather than with blood descent. "The oft-asked question, 'Who are the children of Abraham?' is well answered in light of the revealed Gospel," asserted John A. Widtsoe. "All who accept God's plan for his children on earth and who live it are the children of Abraham. Those who reject the gospel . . . forfeit the promises made to Abraham and are not children of Abraham."⁵⁵

The universalist school also articulated the concept that "the honest in heart" responded to the LDS message by virtue of being God's spirit children. B. H. Roberts, like Orson Pratt, acknowledged the preexistence's impact on individuals' birth situations yet, also like him, emphasized fresh opportunities during the "second trial." "Sometimes, in spite of all adverse circumstances," he observed, "there are spirits that rise from the lowliest and most unfavorable conditions to grandeur and nobility of heart and head." Shared divine parentage, moreover, bonded humankind in spiritual siblinghood. "We recognize you as the children of our common Father, the Creator of the universe," said Grant to the Japanese. "The spirit of man, the intelligent ego, is the offspring of God; therefore men and women of all the earth are brothers and sisters." The physical siblinghood of Adam's and Eve's descendants reinforced the spiritual relationship. To dramatist Henrik Ibsen's comment that his national loyalties had moved beyond Norway to Scandinavia then Teutonism, Nephi Anderson asked: "Why stop at Teutonism? Are not other races our brothers and sisters, inasmuch as all are children of one common Father? . . . The mind that grows under the benign influence of the spirit of God soon gets rid of arbitrary boundaries of race or geography."⁵⁶

With regard to the Jews, universalists like Grant reiterated Joseph

⁵⁵*Millennial Star*: B. H. Roberts, "Relationship of Mormonism to Christianity," 56 (3 September 1894): 565; John Nicholson, "The Divine Plan," 57 (7 March 1895): 148; Heber J. Grant, "Address to the Japanese," 63 (26 September 1901): 626; N[ephi] A[nderson], "The Equality of Mormonism," 67 (16 March 1905): 168; John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 3:28. See also John Nicholson, "Discourse," *Millennial Star* 57 (14 March 1895): 161-64. Nephi Anderson (1865-1923) served as secretary of the Genealogical Society, on the YMMIA general board, and as editor of the *Millennial Star*, the *Liahona*, and the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*. He also wrote *A Young Folks' History of the Church* (1900; several subsequent editions), *Added Upon* (1896; several subsequent editions), and a number of short stories and hymns.

⁵⁶B. H. Roberts, "What Is Man?" *Millennial Star* 58 (4 July 1895): 433; Grant, "Address to the Japanese," 626; N[ephi] A[nderson], "The Larger Nationality," *Millennial Star* 68 (8 March 1906): 152. See also B. H. Roberts, "Discourse," *Millennial Star* 58 (2 July 1895: 417-20, and (11 July 1895): 433-39.

Smith's philosemitism. When the Great Migration of Russian Jews westward and the Bolshevik Revolution provoked a wave of antisemitism after World War I, Grant, then President of the Church and also a member of Salt Lake City's Palestine Restoration Fund Committee, admonished Mormons in general conference:

Some of you may be familiar with the agitation that is going on at the present time, in the publications, against the Jewish people. There should be no ill-will, and I am sure there is none, in the heart of any true Latter-day Saint, toward the Jewish people. Let no Latter-day Saint be guilty of taking part in any crusade against these people. I believe in no other part of the world is there as good a feeling in the hearts of mankind towards the Jewish people as among the Latter-day Saints.⁵⁷

Since they deemed physical gathering a benefit of conversion, universalists agreed with Young's followers that Zionist migration to Palestine constituted a preliminary phase. In 1902 John Nicholson had interpreted Zionism in terms of 2 Nephi 30:7 ("the Jews which are scattered, also shall begin to believe in Christ; and they shall *begin* to gather in upon the face of the land"; emphasis mine). But complete, covenant-related possession remained in the future. After visiting the Holy Land in 1933, Widtsoe remarked: "It is my personal opinion that the Jews will succeed in taking over Palestine fully only when they accept Christ. Until that time, bloody conflict, hate, jealousy, and fear will accompany the Jewish efforts to colonize Palestine."⁵⁸

Since universalists anticipated an early end to the times of the Gentiles, Zionist migration triggered conversionist expectations, manifested in noting what they believed were modified Jewish attitudes toward Jesus⁵⁹

⁵⁷Heber J. Grant, *Conference Report*, April 1921, 124.

⁵⁸John Nicholson, "Questions and Answers: Gathering of the Jews," *Improvement Era* 5 (June 1902): 629; John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land: The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1952): 214-15.

⁵⁹"A Jew's Tribute to Christ," *Millennial Star* 50 (6 February 1888): 84, reprinted this address by Rabbi Kranskopf, an American Reform rabbi, who distinguished between "Jesus, the myth" and "Jesus the Jew, . . . Jesus our brother, . . . Jesus born of Jewish parents and initiated into the Jewish covenant." His concession that Jews presently saw Jesus "in a different light and with a different spirit" intrigued LDS universalists who interpreted the effort of Reform Jews to repatriate Jesus as evidence that all Jews were "begin[ning] to believe in Christ." B. H. Roberts documented what he saw as changing Jewish attitudes in "The Gospel and the Jews," *Millennial Star* 50 (6 February 1888): 88-90, and *Conference Report*, April 1902, 13-16. His evidence and conclusions were repeated in an unsigned editorial, "The Time of Israel Approaching," *Millennial Star* 52 (23 June 1890):

and in Mormon efforts to proselyte Jews. After Alexander Neibaur's conversion to Mormonism in 1838, a few other Jews also became LDS converts on their own initiative.⁶⁰ Although a mere handful, they were sufficient to convince the Pratt school that, despite Brigham Young's denials, it was (increasingly) possible for Jews to accept the restored gospel. B. H. Roberts, a strategically placed universalist, took it upon himself to begin proselyting Jews when he was appointed president of the Eastern States Mission, with headquarters in New York City, in 1922. Over two million Jews resided in his jurisdiction. He wrote three articles for a Christian Jewish publication, then provided reprints to his missionaries whom he directed to approach residents of Jewish neighborhoods. The tracts were later consolidated into *Rasha—The Jew* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932). One of Roberts's successors, James H. Moyle, renewed proselyting among Jews in New York during 1929-32. While this campaign produced no converts, it represented the first LDS attempt to proselyte Jews directly and produced a book formulating Mormonism explicitly for a Jewish audience.⁶¹

Israel's creation in 1948 increased conversionism among LDS universalists. Apostles LeGrand Richards and Ezra Taft Benson pronounced the state of Israel's emergence a fulfillment of prophecy in one breath, then called for the Jews' conversion in the next.⁶² In 1954 Richards won permis-

396-98, identified as reprinted from the *Deseret News*; in John Nicholson, "Questions and Answers: Gathering of the Jews," *Improvement Era* 5 (June 1902): 628-33; and in David O. McKay, *Conference Report*, October 1918, 44-49.

⁶⁰These included Samuel Lublin in 1852, Morris David Rosenbaum in 1858, M. Goldsticker in 1883, ex-Rabbi Edward Joseph Isaacson in 1888, and John Edwin Stein about 1902. See Bernice Alexander Roach, "Kate Lublin Alexander," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, edited by Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 1:47-48; Maude R. Sorenson, "Morris David Rosenbaum," in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, edited by Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952-57), 1:342-43; [B. H.] R[oberts], "The Conversion of a Jewish Rabbi," *Millennial Star* 50 (23 April 1888): 264-66; Dr. Ed. Isaacson, "A Jew's Reasons for Believing Jesus Christ to Be the Messiah," *Millennial Star* 50 (4 June 1888): 353-38; Leon Watters, *The Pioneer Jews of Utah* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1952); Arnold H. Green, "A Survey of LDS Proselyting Efforts to the Jewish People" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967), 35-41.

⁶¹John Nicholson, "Signs of Christ's Coming," *Millennial Star* 56 (10 December 1894): 785-88, and 56 (17 December 1894): 801-5, esp. 804; Green, "A Survey of LDS Proselyting Efforts," 43-47; B. H. Roberts, *Conference Report* (April 1927): 33-38; James H. Moyle, *ibid.*, April 1932, 25-28.

⁶²Ezra Taft Benson: *Conference Report*, April 1950, 75; "The Jews' Return to Palestine in Fulfillment of Prophecy," discourse at Washington DC Stake conference, 3 March 1957, reprinted in *The Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson* (Salt Lake City:

sion to establish a number of experimental "Jewish Missions" in seven U.S. cities including Los Angeles. Author of *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Union Sunday School Board, 1951), prepared as a sequence of proselyting lessons while he was president of the Southern States Mission, he now wrote *Israel! Do You Know?* as a "lesson plan for preaching Mormonism to Jews. LDS swimsuit designer Rose Marie Reid in Los Angeles also prepared a *Suggested Plan for Teaching the Gospel to the Jewish People* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1958). In March 1959, the First Presidency suppressed the Jewish missions and directed that Jews not be singled out in proselyting.⁶³

In summary, during 1878-1978 the Young solution—timely removal of judgment from cursed lineages and the gathering of Ephraim's posterity as the elect—persisted while undergoing two adaptations. First, although Young himself had used the ideas of inherited curses and divine foreknowledge, his followers redefined the concepts of judgment, gathering, and election in terms of preexistence. They consequently justified excluding "Cain's seed" from priesthood ordination because of inadequate performance in the "first estate," while designating Ephraim's posterity a "chosen race of spirits" who were programmed to accept the LDS message in mortality by virtue of their "believing blood." They did not say whether Jews possessed believing blood. Second, Young's torchbearers buttressed LDS claims of literal Ephraimite descent by coopting Anglo-Israelism, thereby hypothesizing real Ephraimites in northwestern Europe. Some of the more radical extensions and innovative adaptations of Brigham Young's lineage primacy view were contributed by persons who, like Henry H. Blood, Albert Jones, James H. Anderson, and Earl W. Harmer, did not serve in the leading councils of the Church. Meanwhile, heirs of the Pratt solution reiterated that considerations of blood descent and nationality were trivial in light of all men and women being spirit children of God and of their common physical descent from Adam and Eve. The universalists' basic message was that "every creature" in "all nations" was "alike unto God." Meanwhile,

Bookcraft, 1988), 98-99; LeGrand Richards: *Israel! Do You Know?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954); *The Dawning of Israel's Day* (Provo, Utah: BYU Extension Publications, 1955); "The Word of God Will Stand," *Improvement Era* 57 (June 1954): 404-6. See also Dale T. Tingey, "Recent Jewish Movements in Israel in Light of the Teachings of the Latter-day Saint Prophets" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955); ex-U.S. Senator Arthur V. Watkins, "When Applied Christianity Comes to Palestine," *Instructor* 94 (November 1959): 358-59.

⁶³See also LeGrand Richards, "Israel! Do You Know?" *Instructor* 95 (May 1959): 139; Green, "A Survey of Proselyting Efforts," First Presidency letter, 2 March 1959, (LDS) *California Intermountain News* (Los Angeles), 2 April 1959, 2.

excited by the Zionist migration and creation of Israel, they reified philosemitism, saw evidence of softening Jewish attitudes toward Jesus, and launched proselyting campaigns among U.S. Jews. The two schools overlapped in viewing the Jews' actual return to the Holy Land as preliminary to conversion. Other synthetic trends included reaffirming the principle of adoption and depicting the scattering as having diffused the blood of Israel worldwide.⁶⁴

THE CONTEMPORARY ERA (SINCE 1978)

In the ongoing discussion among Mormons about gathering and election, LDS attitudes have been considerably affected by two recent developments. The first was Mormonism's expansion into such areas as Brazil, Eastern Europe, India, East Asia, and Africa. The second development, the 1978 priesthood revelation to President Spencer W. Kimball, announced: "The long-promised day has come when every faithful, worthy man in the Church may receive the holy priesthood, with power to exercise its divine authority, and enjoy with his loved ones every blessing that flows therefrom, including the blessings of the temple. Accordingly, all worthy male members of the Church may be ordained to the priesthood without regard for race or color."⁶⁵ These developments have strengthened LDS universalism while weakening certain features of lineage primacy. Besides this main trend, philosemitism, expressed by contemporary voices, has given rise to a new position of what has been called eschatological pluralism. The era since 1978 may thus be treated by summarizing three positions—philosemitism (including eschatological pluralism), universalism, and lineage primacy—that form a collective boundary around the issues of gathering and election.

Philosemitism and Eschatological Pluralism

As Armand Mauss found in 1968, philosemitism has flourished among Latter-day Saints with formal expressions often consisting of elements from the LDS record selected for presentation to Jewish audiences.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Adoption: Blood, "Israel: The Savior of Nations," 454; Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 2:57, Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3:246-47, 249; McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 15, 22-23; diffusion of Israelites: Reynolds, "Are We of Israel," *Millennial Star* 40 (26 August 1978): 707; Smith, *Answers to Gospel Questions*, 4:201-7.

⁶⁵See "Official Declaration—2," D&C:293-4. See also Armand L. Mauss, "The Fading of the Pharaoh's Curse: The Decline and Fall of the Priesthood Ban Against Blacks in the Mormon Church," *Dialogue* 14 (Autumn 1981), 10-45; Newell G. Bringham, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People within Mormonism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

⁶⁶Eldin Ricks first presented LDS philosemitism to a Jewish audience in "Zionism and the Mormon Church," *Herzl Year Book* 5 (1965): 147-74. See also Ezra

This position's most articulate recent voice has been Heber J. Grant's grandson, Truman Grant Madsen, who organized a BYU symposium called *Reflections on Mormonism: Judeo-Christian Parallels* (1980) and wrote "The Mormon Attitude toward Zionism" (1981). LDS philosemitism was connected to the larger discussion of gathering and election through the belief that Mormons and Jews share an ultimate future as well as ethnic and spiritual origins. It has thus articulated that sense of commonality, albeit selectively—i.e., without mentioning judgment and conversion—perhaps to avoid negative Jewish responses.⁶⁷

Steven Epperson, former history professor at Brigham Young University, has taken a radicalized position on LDS philosemitism that, rather than remaining discreetly silent on judgment and conversion, openly repudiates these concepts.⁶⁸ Epperson was sensitized to Jewish grievances over traditional Christian "supercessionism" (the New Testament idea that Mosaic Judaism was "fulfilled" in Christ's ministry) and was aware of conclusions reached by some present-day Christian spokesmen that the Jews' Abrahamic covenant and Mosaic Law have *not* been invalidated, obviating the need to accept Christianity.⁶⁹ He identified these modern positions with early Mormonism, citing scripture and statements by Joseph Smith to argue that Smith eschewed supercessionism and recognized the Jews as a covenan-

Taft Benson: "A Message to Judah from Joseph: An Address to Mormons, Non-Mormons, and Jews," Calgary, May 1976. A summary appeared as "A Message to Judah from Joseph," *Ensign* (December 1976): 67-72; the full discourse was later published as a pamphlet (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978).

⁶⁷Truman G. Madsen, ed. "Introductory Essay," *Reflections on Mormonism: Judeo-Christian Parallels* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University/Religious Studies Center, 1980), xviii-ix; "The Mormon Attitude toward Zionism," *Series of Lectures on Zionism*, No. 5, edited by Yaacov Goldstein (Haifa, Israel: Haifa University, May 1981).

⁶⁸Steven Epperson: "Gathering and Restoration: Early Mormon Identity and the Jewish People," Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1991; the dissertation was published as *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 36, 124, 133; see also "Jews in the Columns of Joseph's *Times and Seasons*," *Dialogue* 22 (Winter 1989): 135-42; "Some Problems with Supercessionism in Mormon Thought," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994-95): 125-36.

⁶⁹See John Rousmaniere, *A Bridge to Dialogue: The Story of Jewish-Christian Relations* (New York: Paulus Press, 1991); World Council of Churches, *The Theology of the Churches and the Jewish People* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1988); Paul M. van Buren, *The Change in the Church's Understanding of the Jewish People* (Salt Lake City: Westminster College, 1990); Jacob Neusner, *Judaism and Christianity: The New Relationship* (Hamden, Conn.: Garland, 1993).

tal grouping independent of the LDS Church. Thus "the effect of Smith's work was a strong affirmation of Israel's enduring covenant"; consequently, "the conversion of the Jewish people is never mentioned nor advocated in the Book of Mormon." Acknowledging that judgment, conversion, and supercessionism were prominent during the same early period, he attributed these negative ideas to unreconstructed traditionalists like Oliver Cowdery. "Cowdery's vision of Mormonism was fundamentally hostile to rival covenant traditions and communities," he wrote. "He was thus unable to share Smith's affirmation of Israel's national and covenantal independence."⁷⁰

Representing a rare LDS effort to relate to the Jews not as an Old Testament tribe but as a living religious community, this bold position was welcomed by those sharing pluralist views but was ill received by guardians of Mormon orthodoxy.⁷¹ At issue was how Epperson's thesis harmonized with the historical record. Eager to show that LDS scripture and Joseph Smith anticipated contemporary attitudes, Epperson creatively but deviously excerpted phrases to support key elements of his hypothesis. For example, to show that the Book of Mormon respected the Mosaic law as the basis of Judaism's "covenantal independence," he quoted only "respect fragments" of passages whose core message clearly was supercessionism (in the form of the idea that the Mosaic Law was insufficient to salvation, being merely preliminary to Christ's atonement). While the argument is novel and bold, its use of evidence is, frankly, dishonest. Typical of Epperson's creative excerpting was his statement: "As they [Nephite people] affirm: 'salvation did come by the law of Moses' (Mosiah 12:32)," but he did not acknowledge that this statement was made by the false priests of wicked King Noah, whom the prophet Abinadi, the episode's protagonist, denounced for their limited understanding:

It is expedient that ye should keep the law of Moses as yet; but I say unto you, that the time shall come when it shall no more be expedient to keep the law of Moses.

And moreover, I say unto you that salvation doth not come by the law alone; and were it not for the atonement, which God himself shall

⁷⁰Epperson, *Mormons and Jews*, 124, 133.

⁷¹Jacob Neusner, "Toward a Common Goal," *Sunstone* 17 (December 1994): 71-73; Grant Underwood, "The Jews and Their Future in Early LDS Doctrine," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994-95): 111-24; Frank Judd and Terrence Szink, "The Restoration of Israel in the Book of Mormon," *Reviews of Books on the Book of Mormon* 7, no. 2 (1995): 106-22.

make for the sins and iniquities of his people, that they must unavoidably perish, notwithstanding the law of Moses. (Mosiah 13:27-28)

Cognate elements of Epperson's argument—e.g., “Brigham Young, Smith's disciple and successor, continued Smith's views” about the Jews' covenantal independence—also excerpted elements that seemed to support his point in ways that disregarded the context Young had given them.⁷²

Universalism

When first articulated in the mid-nineteenth century, Pratt's solution was subordinate to that of Young, whose office gave his pronouncements greater weight. But the universalist position on gathering and election was kept alive by Taylor, Roberts, Nicholson, Grant, and Widtsoe. In the late twentieth century, when Mormonism became a global faith and bestowed priesthood ordination on worthy men without concern for color or ancestry, universalism's messages—that “all are alike unto God” and that literal and adopted faithful children of latter-day Israel are equal—have been articulated increasingly often. In that sense, universalism has moved into the ascendant position. However, its many spokesmen have varied tones that can be ranged along a spectrum.

The most official voices have taken judicious positions. For example, the First Presidency's 1978 “Easter Message” begins: “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gladly teaches and declares the Christian doctrine that all men and women are brothers and sisters, not only by blood relationship from common mortal progenitors, but also as literal spirit children of an Eternal Father.” Apostle Howard W. Hunter in 1979 reaffirmed: “The brotherhood of man is literal. We are all of one blood and the literal spirit offspring of our eternal Heavenly Father.” He explicitly rejected distinctions of race or color: “Race makes no difference; color makes no difference; nationality makes no difference.” Predicting that the 1978 priesthood revelation “will assist also in accomplishing the commission to teach all nations,” Hunter urged Mormons “to lift our vision beyond personal prejudices.” He ended by underscoring that “we look upon no nation or nationality as second-class citizens.” Hunter returned to this theme in 1991: “In the message of the gospel, the entire human race is one family descended from a single God. . . . This is a message of life and love that strikes squarely against all stifling traditions based on race, language, economic or political standing . . . or cultural background, for we are all of the same spiritual descent.” James E. Faust, second counselor in the First Presi-

⁷²Epperson, *Mormons and Jews*, 27, ix.

dency, echoed that sentiment in 1995: "In my experience, no race or class seems superior to any other in spirituality and faithfulness."⁷³ Many writers in official or near-official publications have reiterated these clear but judicious universalist positions.⁷⁴

Near the center is Spencer Palmer, professor of religious education at Brigham Young University, former mission and temple president in Korea, and author of *The Expanding Church* (1978). Palmer evoked universalism by stressing the efficacy of adoption and global diffusion of the blood of Israel but also challenged the significance of lineage per se, because it "guarantees no precedence of Israel over others." Thus, "all worthy Gentiles become covenant people, and all unworthy Israelites are cast off. (2 Ne. 30:2)." "In Mormon doctrine the chosen people are recognized by their faith and righteousness. . . . [T]hese alone belong to that eternal family which is Israel. . . . Thus we see that Israel is not limited to a particular people or place. Latter-day Israel is not a community of blood; it is a community of faith." In addition to sharing physical descent from Adam, "the spirits of all men were literally born of the same God before the earth was physically organized. Thus, all persons are literally brothers and sisters in the family of God, and all have the same ability, through obedience, to

⁷³The First Presidency (Spencer W. Kimball, N. Eldon Tanner, Marion G. Romney), untitled statement, 15 February 1978, Spencer Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), frontispiece; Howard W. Hunter: "All Are Alike unto God," *Ensign*, June 1979, 72-74; "The Gospel—A Global Faith," *ibid.*, November 1991, 18-19; James E. Faust, "Heirs to the Kingdom of God," *ibid.*, May 1995, 61-3. See also Spencer W. Kimball, "The Uttermost Parts of the Earth," *ibid.*, July 1979, 2-9; Alexander B. Morrison, "The Dawning of a New Day in Africa," *ibid.*, November 1987, 25-6; Dallin H. Oaks, "Getting to Know China," BYU Devotional Address, 12 March 1991, *Brigham Young University 1990-91 Devotional and Fireside Speeches* (Provo, Utah: University Publications, 1991), no. 11, 93-101; John K. Carmack, "Unity in Diversity: In a Worldwide Church, Becoming One Does Not Mean Becoming the Same," *Ensign*, March 1991, 6-9.

⁷⁴In the *Ensign*: James B. Mayfield, "Ishmael, Our Brother," June 1979, 24-32; William Lye, "From Birundi to Zaire: Taking the Gospel to Africa," March 1980, 10-15; R. Lanier Britsch, "From Bhutan to Wants'ang: Taking the Gospel to Asia," June 1980, 6-10; David Hanna and Steven Ostler, "No Respector of Persons," August 1981, 18-21; Kent P. Jackson, "The Abrahamic Covenant: A Blessing for All People," February 1990, 51-53; Richard O. Cowan, "From Footholds to Strongholds: Spreading the Gospel Worldwide," June 1993, 56-61; Lamond Tullis, ed., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures* (Provo: BYU Press, 1978); Bruce A. Van Orden, "The Seed of Abraham in the Latter Days," in Carlos Asay (Presidency of the First Quorum of the Seventy) et al., *The Old Testament and the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1986): 51-67.

become children of God in a celestial sense.”⁷⁵ Palmer’s universalism in effect defined “Israel” as a family bonded only by spiritual relationships.

Voices toward the liberal end of the spectrum, encouraged by such developments as the 1978 priesthood revelation, have called for the extension and acceleration of universalism. Eugene England, English professor at Brigham Young University, argued for the renunciation of teachings that had justified now-discontinued policies:

Beginning in the 1840s and for a variety of reasons, some of which we still do not understand, the Church adopted a clearly racist practice—the denial of priesthood to blacks—and gradually developed semi-official racist doctrines as rationale for that practice. The Church, by revelation, has now ended that racist practice, but we have not yet repudiated all of the racist popular theology that we developed to explain the practice, particularly the notion that race is a result of behavior in the pre-existence, though this theology denies the implications of the revelation.

While England tried to disengage the “negative connection between pre-existence and race,” Sterling McMurrin targeted the idea of Ephraimite descent. He predicted “that this intense tribalism, the theoretical base of Mormon parochialism . . . , will be less and less important in the future.” Indeed, the appearance of Palmer’s *Expanding Church* suggested to McMurrin “that the change which I have mentioned, the abandonment of the myth of Israelitish descent, may already be in progress.”⁷⁶ Each voice in the growing universalist chorus has emphasized the precedence of faithfulness over lineage.

Lineage Primacy

The 1978 revelation eliminated from Young’s explanation, already modified during the previous century, the belief and policy that persons identified as Cain’s seed could receive neither the priesthood nor temple blessings until the resurrection. By extension, it now became tenuous to

⁷⁵Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 26-28. See his earlier works for diffusion and adoption: In *Mormonism: A Message for All Nations* (Provo: BYU Press, 1965), 12, 16, Palmer quoted Matthew Cowley and Joseph Fielding Smith to affirm that “the Lord has scattered Israel throughout the world, even to the farthest reaches of Asia.” Five years later, he published “Did Christ Visit Japan?” *BYU Studies* 10 (Winter 1970): 135-58.

⁷⁶Eugene England, “Are All Alike Unto God?” *Sunstone* 14, no. 2 (April 1990): 16-25; Sterling McMurrin, “Problems in Universalizing Mormonism,” *Sunstone* 4, no. 5-6 (December 1979): 9-17. See also Lee Copeland, “From Calcutta to Kaysville: Is Righteousness Color-Coded?” *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 89-99.

argue—echoing Henry Blood—that, in addition to “noble and great” spirits, there were also noble and great “tribes and races.”

On the one hand, lineage primacy spokesmen recognized the 1978 revelation’s authoritativeness and immediate implications. “These words [‘All are alike unto God’ (2 Ne. 26:33)] have now taken on a new meaning,” acknowledged Bruce R. McConkie. “Many of us never imagined or supposed that they had the extensive and broad meaning that they do have.” It is true that “there are statements in our literature by the early brethren which we have interpreted to mean that the Negroes would not receive the priesthood in mortality. I have said the same things, and people write me letters and say, ‘you said such and such, and how is it now that we do such and such?’” He counseled such questioners:

Forget everything that I have said, or what President Brigham Young or President George Q. Cannon or whomsoever has said in days past that is contrary to the present revelation. We spoke with a limited understanding and without the light and knowledge that now has come into the world.

...

It doesn’t make a particle of difference what anybody ever said about the Negro matter before the first day of this year, 1978.⁷⁷

On the other hand, McConkie reaffirmed the rest of the Young solution, as elaborated during the transitional era, in his *Messiah* series (1978-82) and his *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (1985). Chief among these elements were the importance of the “chosen race,” a line of spirits from the preexistence who, “as a reward for their devotion when they dwelt in his presence, enjoy greater spiritual endowments than their fellows.” He conceded that “every living soul comes into this world with sufficient talent to believe and be saved,” that “all men, in or out of the house of Israel, are freed of their iniquities in the same way,” and that “rebellious members of the house of Israel are disinherited.” But he reaffirmed that “it is easier for them [“Israel,” “the chosen seed,” “God’s elect”] to believe than it is for the generality of mankind.” Thus, he retained distinctions, even after conversion, between “the literal seed of Abraham’s body” and the “less favored seed” or “the aliens.” For “the natural sons are already in the family when the adopted sons take upon themselves the name of whom they chose as their father.” Moreover, this “natural seed” enjoy “a right to certain blessings. . . . They have a right to the gospel, the priesthood, and eternal life because they are the seed of Abraham. The Lord operates through families;

⁷⁷Bruce R. McConkie, “All Are Alike unto God,” in Church Educational System, *Charge to Religious Educators* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1982): 153.

in general he sends his choice spirits to earth in the lineage of Abraham." So "almost all of those who accept the gospel in this day are the literal seed of Abraham." And because the birthright passed from Abraham to Ephraim, "Ephraim is the presiding tribe in Israel. He plays the chief role in the scattering and the gathering of the chosen seed." Therefore, Mormons "are the chosen people, the elect of God, those in whose veins flows believing blood. Abraham is our father."⁷⁸

Perhaps responding to some universalists' dismissal of Ephraimite descent as "myth" and the alleged link between race and preexistence as "racist," Robert F. Millet and Joseph Fielding McConkie (son of Bruce R. McConkie), both BYU professors of religious education, complained that lineage primacy has been "untaught" recently and that "egalitarian" criticisms of it "are doctrinally defenseless and even potentially hazardous."⁷⁹

Some recent voices have used the language of diplomacy when speaking on issues of gathering and election. In October 1995, James E. Faust, second counselor in the First Presidency, spoke on patriarchal blessings, perhaps to reaffirm the relevance of lineage, including the house of Israel, yet making it clear that "it makes no difference if the blessings of the house of Israel come by lineage or by adoption." In the same year, Robert B. Matthews, former BYU Dean of Religious Education and currently president of the Mt. Timpanogas Temple, wrote about the New Testament Council of Jerusalem, which settled the issue of Gentile converts' status within Jewish Christianity by ruling that they need not obey the Mosaic law. Addressing the limited and ambiguous nature of the ruling, Matthews hypothe-

⁷⁸Bruce R. McConkie, *The Promised Messiah* (1978; reprint Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 610; *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985): 34, 37-38; *The Millennial Messiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 232, 246; *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith*, 39-40, 34, 37; *The Mortal Messiah*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979-81) 2:309-10; *The Millennial Messiah*, 232, 246, 189.

⁷⁹Daniel Ludlow, "Of the House of Israel," *Ensign*, January 1991, 51-55; Robert F. Millet and Joseph Fielding McConkie, *Our Destiny: The Call and Election of the House of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), 1, 18. Millet and McConkie ignored Anglo-Israelism, although they quoted James H. Anderson in support of lineage primacy. In view of Harmer's arguments in his *Our Destiny* and Harmer's links to the scientific racist magazine *Destiny* published by the Anglo-Saxon Federation, *Our Destiny* was a curious choice for the title of Millet's and McConkie's book. Millet is dean of BYU's Division of Religious Education. Two recent self-published arguments for LDS Anglo-Israelism are R. Clayton Brough, *The Lost Tribes: History, Doctrine, Prophecies, and Theories about Israel's Lost Ten Tribes* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1979); Vaughn E. Hansen, *Whence Came They? Israel, Britian [sic] and the Restoration* (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, Inc., 1993).

sized: "There must have been many who would have preferred a stronger declaration," then concluded, "The moderate decision of the council made possible continuing accommodation of some members' traditions without compromise on essential doctrinal points." He made the pertinent analogy: "In like manner today, there may be questions on which the doctrinal foundation is clear but on which tradition or custom are so strong that the Brethren are impressed not to take a firmer stand." Consistent with these positions was the First Presidency's public denial in May 1998 that they contemplated retracting theological statements used before 1978 to justify the exclusion of black men from the priesthood; they preferred to say that the 1978 official declaration "continues to speak for itself."⁸⁰ Perhaps considering harmony more important than the triumph of one or the other solution, LDS officials in the late twentieth century have, in effect, confirmed the original "unsettled openness."

CONCLUSION

There has thus been a pattern to the elaboration historically of the tension between Israelite descent and universalism in Mormon discourse. Along with a nexus of subissues, LDS scriptures and Joseph Smith's pronouncements left the relationship between these two concepts open. In the next generation, Orson Pratt and Brigham Young both proposed solutions. Emphasizing universalism, Pratt argued that the righteous spirit children of God would be gathered during their "second trial" (the "time for men to prepare to meet God") by heeding the restored gospel as it would be preached during the times of the Gentiles to every creature in all nations. Young's solution stressed the gradual, pretimed removal of judgment from cursed lineages, while literal Ephraimites were simultaneously gathered out of the Gentile nations.

During 1878-1978, Young's numerous torchbearers redefined and elaborated judgment, gathering, and election in terms of preexistent worthiness; because spirits made critical soteriological choices in that "first estate," they were assigned to "cursed" or "chosen" races in the second. George Reynolds appropriated Anglo-Israelism to explain the presence of real Ephraimites in northwestern Europe, then twentieth-century advocates of lineage primacy used the new preexistence/race correlation to resist

⁸⁰James E. Faust, "Priesthood Blessings," *Ensign*, November 1995, 64; Robert J. Matthews, "A Crisis, A Council, and Inspired Leadership," *ibid.*, October 1995, 59; Cala Byram, "LDS Church Says Story is Wrong," *Deseret News*, 19 May 1998, A-1, A-3.

desegregation, even while denying the “foolish and erroneous” but scriptural notion that the parents’ sins are visited on the children’s heads.

Pratt’s comparatively few disciples during the century of transition, while sounding the theme of every creature in all nations, were impressed by Jews’ “new attitudes” toward Jesus and launched proselyting efforts among American Jewish communities. Since 1978 LDS philosemitism, evident particularly in pronouncements by Joseph Smith and Heber J. Grant, has persisted, with a radical position of eschatological pluralism emerging from it. Meanwhile, the LDS Church’s worldwide growth and priesthood revelation impelled universalism into a position of ascendancy, although recent spokesmen have ranged along a spectrum from an official, judicious end to an unofficial, liberal one. The priesthood revelation removed part of the foundation of lineage primacy, whose advocates (except for marginalists) also ceased articulating Anglo-Israelism in public. Yet Bruce R. McConkie and his followers have reiterated the link between preexistence and lineage, believing blood, and the spiritual advantage of real Ephraimites over the adopted “lesser seed.”

Commentators have noted how the LDS Church’s feature of continuing revelation has permitted the elaboration of the doctrinal corpus either as the Saints became able to comprehend advanced tenets or as the times required special counsel. Little has been said, however, about a process for discarding certain old tenets propounded in particular times that have clearly passed. In effect, a kind of pocket veto operates; what still impresses as vital and relevant gets remembered and perpetuated, while what has become pointless or embarrassing—like trial by ordeal in the Mosaic law—languishes untaught and unremembered.

A recent publication that also “speaks for itself” in that regard is the Melchizedek Priesthood/Relief Society lesson manual, *Teachings of the Presidents of the Church: Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1997), which sends three messages. First, by its contents it shows that a great deal of Brigham Young’s dicta on a wide variety of topics remains “alive.” Second, by what it excludes, it acknowledges that essentially everything he said about “cursed” lineages is effectively “dead.” Third, by reiterating—even featuring (see the Introduction’s second paragraph)—virtually all of Young’s universalist pronouncements, it portrays him as a spokesman for universalism. Yet the book does reify by inclusion (p. 325) the idea of gathering the seed of Ephraim.

Despite the tension between them, the concepts of Israelite descent and universalism have thus continued to be articulated in an era when the multivalence has also been reconfirmed. Partisans may either redouble their efforts to promote the concept of their choice—or else learn to live with the unsettled openness.

WRITING “MORMONISM’S NEGRO DOCTRINE: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW” (1973): CONTEXT AND REFLECTIONS, 1998

Lester Bush

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY OF 1973 ARTICLE

PRIOR TO 1973, published treatments of LDS attitudes toward blacks and the priesthood generally fell into two categories. One approach, which was critical of Church policy, explained Church teachings as an outgrowth of the persecutions experienced by the Saints in Missouri. The Missourians accused Mormons of tampering with slaves and forced them out of Jackson County; Joseph Smith instituted the priesthood restriction to reassure the rest of the South it had nothing to fear from the Church. The policy was perpetuated by all of his (sometimes racist) successors. The other approach, which justified the Church policy, asserted that blacks were denied the priesthood because Joseph Smith had received a revelation on the subject and that the same restriction was present anciently, as reflected in a verse in the Pearl of Great Price (Abr. 1:26). Neither approach was well documented, both seemingly beginning with a conclusion and then “proving” it with a few quotations.

My article, “Mormonism and the Negro,”¹ reconstructed in far

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greater detail than previously the history of LDS policy toward blacks, identifying five discrete periods:

1. In a fourteen-year "preliminary" period, 1830-44, Joseph Smith led the Church from seeming neutrality on the slavery issue through a period of antiabolitionist, proslavery sentiment to a final position strongly opposed to slavery. In the process he showed that he shared the common belief that blacks were descendants of Ham, but ultimately he rejected this lineage theory as justification of black slavery. I found no contemporary evidence that Smith limited priesthood eligibility because of race or biblical lineage; on the contrary, among the few early black members were at least two or three priesthood holders. One of these, Elijah Abel, was not only well known to Smith but also became a seventy. At one point the Church limited proselyting among slaves, and there is a possibility—raised by much, much later testimony—that Smith had advised that, within the slave society of the South, black men should not be ordained to the priesthood.

In the early 1840s Joseph Smith published for the first time a rendition of funerary texts acquired in the mid-1830s which expanded some of the biblical texts of Genesis, including those relating to Noah and Ham. These texts, together with the previously published Book of Moses, spoke of ancient groups or individuals who were or became "black," and identified one lineage which was denied the priesthood. Given societal beliefs about African origins, Joseph Smith presumably understood at least some of these references to apply to the ancestors of modern blacks—but, if so, he never

article in 1973 for "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8 (Spring 1973): 11-68 (it also won the Dialogue Award for best article that year), best article in 1978 for "Brigham Young in Life and Death: A Medical Overview," *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 79-103, and best first book in 1993 for *Health and Medicine among the Latter-day Saints: Science, Sense, and Scripture* (New York: Crossroads/Continuum Press, 1993). He won another prize from *Dialogue* for his "Ethical Issues in Reproductive Medicine: A Mormon Perspective," *Dialogue* 18 (Summer 1985): 41-66. He became a member of *Dialogue's* Board of Editors in late 1974, was associate editor while Mary Bradford was editor from the fall of 1976 until 1982, then continued on the Board of Editors until 1992. After several overseas assignments, some discussed in this article, he became medical director of a federal agency. He and his wife Yvonne are the parents of three grown children. A short version of this paper was presented at the annual MHA Association meeting in Washington, D.C., 23 May 1998.

¹Lester E. Bush Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue* 8 (Spring 1973): 11-68; reprinted as a *Dialogue* monograph in 1978, and in Lester E. Bush Jr. and Armand Mauss, eds., *Neither White Nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 53-129.

addressed the subject in any known account. The new scripture had no impact on Joseph Smith's rejection of modern slavery, and no account during Smith's life applied it to the priesthood issue. While Smith was recorded as having made what now would be deemed racist remarks, overall he was supportive of black potential.

2. Following Joseph Smith's death in 1844, Brigham Young's thirty-year presidency (1847-77) saw the second, "definitive" period. Young's recorded views on black potential were strikingly less positive than Joseph Smith's; and soon after Young and the Mormon vanguard arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, policies both of priesthood denial to blacks and of official support for black slavery emerged. The priesthood ban—first suggested in 1847, explicitly articulated in 1849, and publicly espoused in 1852—was inevitably applied to the "descendants of Cain," and slavery was deemed justified among the descendants of Ham and Canaan—rather than in either instance specifying African blacks, *per se*. The rationale for both policies was thus explicit, and over three decades Young never varied from this point of view. Notably, neither he nor anyone else ascribed the priesthood ban to Smith. Young, in fact, in 1852 virtually claimed personal credit for himself: "Any man having one drop of the seed of [Cain] . . . in him cannot hold the priesthood and if no other Prophet ever spake it before I will say it now in the name of Jesus Christ I know it is true and others know it."

3. Young's death ushered in a third period (of "elaboration") in the history of Church thinking on blacks, extending from about 1880 to 1920. Though most studies had ignored the four decades of this period, few periods proved as important for modern Church teachings. Under Brigham Young's leadership there was never any question about the priesthood ban, though to Young's surprise the Civil War ended Canaan's curse of servitude without foreshadowing the general collapse of the country. With his death, however, questions arose about Joseph Smith's views on blacks and the priesthood, triggered in part by the continued presence of Elijah Abel in the Salt Lake City community. Unanimity on the question of Smith's views was not completely achieved for almost three decades, though the policy of priesthood denial *per se* was never in dispute. During this time the Church adjusted to the decline of larger societal support for the traditional genealogy of blacks and the notion of black racial inferiority—both important external rationales for the priesthood policy. In their place were introduced the more substantial evidence of Joseph Smith's Pearl of Great Price (interpreted in light of the previous understanding of African ancestry), and the increasing weight (or inertia) of Church rulings that by 1908 were believed to be traceable through six Church presidents including Joseph Smith to the very earliest days of the Restoration. In addition a few practical aspects

of the policy were resolved to the point that no real modifications were felt necessary for nearly fifty years.

4. A fourth period of "doctrinal refinement" followed, which extended for about thirty years (ca. 1920-50) and was not especially eventful. By this time little evidence remained for the old concepts of racial inferiority, skin color had lost its relevance, and the Pearl of Great Price alone was no longer considered a sufficient explanation for priesthood denial. Accordingly changes were again evident in the stated rationales. While the curse on Cain and Pearl of Great Price arguments were still considered "true" and relevant, they were superseded to a significant extent by a new emphasis on the role of blacks in the preexistence. Basic Church policy, however, remained essentially unchanged; and while the Church confronted new social and anthropological problems, these generally were dealt with in the context of previously established policy.

5. The final, or "contemporary" period, beginning with the McKay years and extending until 1973 when the article was published, saw the Church confront the civil rights movement and a great deal of negative publicity over the Church's continuing refusal to ordain blacks. Only minimally addressed in the article, this period culminated with the issuance of a First Presidency statement² reaffirming the priesthood restriction, but seemingly abandoning any attempt to explain the doctrine other than through the assertion that it had been taught by "Joseph Smith and all succeeding presidents of the Church . . . for reasons which we believe are known to God, but which He has not made fully known to man." In short, all previous explanations had been superseded by the belief that, after all, there was no specific explanation for the priesthood policy. Significantly, this development did not weaken the belief that the policy was justified, for there remained the not-inconsiderable evidence of over a century of decisions which had consistently denied the priesthood to blacks.

The article's concluding summary suggested that the record was both different and more intelligible than the First Presidency seemed to acknowledge. The record pointed clearly to Brigham Young as author of the priesthood policy, rather than Joseph Smith. Moreover, the basis for Young's decision (however anachronistic and unacceptable in 1973) seemed abundantly clear. It appeared to be time for the Church to reconsider its understanding.

²This statement, approved on 15 December 1969, was not publicly released until 10 January 1970.

I

On this the twentieth anniversary of the priesthood revelation, I've been asked to write about the experiences surrounding my work on blacks and the priesthood. I offer the following account—characteristically over-detailed and twenty-five years late.³

My first interest in Mormon teachings about blacks was spurred by press attention to the subject during George Romney's 1962 gubernatorial candidacy and by several major Church "announcements" in 1963: (1) on 11 January the first LDS mission to black Africa (Nigeria); (2) on 7 June published comments by First Presidency counselor Hugh B. Brown that the Church was "in the midst of a survey looking toward the possibility of admitting Negroes" to the priesthood;⁴ (3) on 6 October a pro-civil rights statement that Brown read at October General Conference;⁵ and (4) on 22

³During the intervening twenty-five years, I subsequently have learned a number of facts relevant to the account. To distinguish clearly those things which I knew at the time from those which came to my attention later, I have italicized all the text which falls into the latter category.

⁴Wallace Turner "Mormon Weighs Stand on Negro," *New York Times*, western edition, 7 June 1963. Turner wrote, based on the Brown interview, "The top leadership of the Mormon church is seriously considering abandonment of its historic policy," and quoted Brown as saying "We are in the midst of a survey looking toward the possibility of admitting Negroes." At the time, Brown was first counselor to President David O. McKay. The basis for Brown's claim is still unknown; but as with many aspects of this subject, the story was more complicated than it appeared in public. Many years later, long after I had published on the subject, I learned that, on the day the *Times* article appeared, Brown explained to McKay that he was "misquoted"; but this explanation was disputed by Church public communications representative Theodore Cannon who was present at the interview and said he was "so shocked at what President Brown told the reporter that he himself took out his notebook and started writing down what President Brown said."

Brown's claim may have had been related to the recently announced Nigerian Mission. Brown had raised unsuccessfully the possibility of ordaining black converts to the Aaronic Priesthood to provide some local Nigerian leadership. However, an earlier conversation on the subject ended with Brown himself saying, "I don't think the time has come, but it may come when the Lord directs it." David O. McKay, *Journal Record*, 7 June 1963, and 9 January 1962. This record is a multi-volume typescript daily office journal, original in private possession, photocopies in my possession.

⁵"Position of Church on Civil Rights Affirmed," *Deseret News*, 6 October 1963. "We would like it to be known that there is in this Church no doctrine, belief, or practice that is intended to deny the enjoyment of full civil rights by any person regardless of race, color, or creed." Brown delivered this statement, originally written by Sterling M. McMurrin, as a pronouncement with a pause separating it from his

October published comments by Joseph Fielding Smith, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, that the Church was *not* about to change its priesthood policy.⁶

Like many others, I started a file on this increasingly awkward and public subject. Unlike others, with me the topic became an obsession. I *really* wanted to understand the history of the subject and just “knew” that with a little more work I would be able to sort it out. The issue was not that I thought the priesthood restriction uninspired (having accepted it on faith), but rather that conventional “Church” explanations seemed so inadequate, especially given the importance of the subject and the absence of any claimed revelation.

I was at the University of Virginia throughout this time, first as an undergraduate and, after 1964, in medical school. During the medical school years, I attended an active Deseret Club, filled with thoughtful faculty and graduate students, that was a great forum for the range of discussions found in many Church study groups during the sixties: the Church and science, politics, economics, literature, and social policy. Because these were the civil rights years, the status of blacks in Church and community was a major topic. At one point we each chose subjects on which to prepare a presentation. I picked blacks and the priesthood.

I continued my research with some difficulty during medical school, copying extracts from the books and articles being published on Mormon views on blacks and searching out the underlying primary sources.⁷ Like

other remarks; the use of “we” was deliberate to suggest an official statement. A 9 March 1965 *Deseret News* editorial reprint of this statement referred to it as “officially” given. See McMurrin, “A Note on the 1963 Civil Rights Statement,” 12, no. 2 *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 60-63.

⁶ “Editor’s Note,” *Look*, 22 October 1963; 78” “‘The Negro cannot achieve priesthood in the Mormon Church,’ President Smith said, ‘No consideration is being given now to changing the doctrine of the Church to permit him to attain that status. Such a change can come about only through divine revelation, and no one can predict when a divine revelation will occur.’”

⁷ Of the forty or so sources published during the 1960s, the most widely read were John J. Stewart, *Mormonism and the Negro* (Orem, Utah: Community Press, 1960, and multiple subsequent editions), which included William E. Berrett’s lengthy “The Church and the Negroid People” (printed as the second half of Stewart’s book, repaginated to start with a new page 1); Jeff Nye, “Memo from a Mormon,” *Look* magazine, 22 October 1963, 74-78; Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *The Negro in Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1963); Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith’s Curse Upon the Negro* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1965); Donald L. Foster, “Unique Gospel in Utah,” *Christian Century*, 14 July 1965, 890-92; Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), various

others I found the Pearl of Great Price—despite its common use by the Church leadership as a proof-text for priesthood denial—insufficient to carry the case alone.⁸ What *was* clear was that supporters and detractors of Church policy tended to quote completely different sets of sources and that the totality of the material was not particularly consistent with either point of view.

When I typed my primary source material in chronological order in 1967 to see if any early explanatory pattern was evident, none was. While I was still willing to accept the Church's view that the priesthood ban was inspired, it was troubling that all the materials being published had not shed much new light on the subject.

After I graduated from medical school, my wife Yvonne and I moved to Salt Lake City where I did my internship (1968-69), and she continued her studies at the University of Utah. During my minimal free time, I continued my research in the various archives there. In attempting to gain access to some materials in the Church Historian's Office, I was required to meet with its head, ninety-two-year-old Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith. His main points in our interview were that the work on blacks and the priesthood already had been done (i.e., his own work), and that the Church didn't want every "Tom, Dick, or Harry" looking through its records. Naively—and armed with my temple recommend—I said I didn't think I was any "Tom, Dick, or Harry." He replied, with a smile, that they didn't want any "Tom, Dick, or Bob" either.

As it turned out, the specific sources I asked to see—e.g., the Journal

sections; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2d ed. rev. (1945; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), esp. supplement; Wallace Turner, *The Mormon Establishment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), chaps. 8, 9; and John L. Lund, *The Church and the Negro: A Discussion of Mormons, Negroes and the Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: n. pub., 1967). A fuller chronological bibliography is found in Bush and Mauss, *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 227-30.

⁸Several verses in the Pearl of Great Price were invoked in the traditional justification of priesthood denial, most centrally Abraham 1:26 ("[Pharaoh was] cursed . . . as pertaining to the priesthood"). Analysis of these verses is complicated and beyond the scope of this paper. The main problem for even faithful Mormons was that, however evident a connection to Africans may have been to early-nineteenth century Americans, the text itself made no such connection explicitly. Additionally, the various groups associated in the text with "blackness" bore no conclusive relationship to the person said to be ineligible for the priesthood. In short, the Pearl of Great Price case for priesthood denial required that important assumptions be added to the text.

History—were open to the public regardless, a point Smith failed to mention. The staff knew that no special permission was required for what I wanted and were very helpful. They seemed to respect my interest in collecting information without any particular agenda beyond seeing what the record showed; so while following their own policy guidelines, they provided as much information as they could. For example, an archival staff member explained that I couldn't look at a vast collection of documents then termed the Manuscript History of the Church but let me photocopy an annotated index to this collection, which included much substantive detail. I also wanted to verify Elijah Abel's 1836 patriarchal blessing. By policy, no researcher could see the blessing of anyone not a direct ancestor, but an archival staff member listened while I read my version of Abel's blessing as he followed the original and confirmed that they were the same.

The historical materials I found, at least initially, portrayed a solid and consistent stand by the Church leadership on the legitimacy of priesthood denial to blacks. But there were occasional question marks. For example, at the hospital I talked to two of then-President David O. McKay's sons—one a patient and one a doctor. I was curious about their father's views on blacks and found both seemingly of the opinion that there was surprising latitude on Church policy. My conversation with Llewelyn McKay in the fall of 1968 was the most remarkable. He told me that he personally believed the Negro doctrine to be a historical accident, stemming indirectly from the slavery controversy in Missouri. I asked him about his father's views, and he said that he understood them to be compatible with his own.

About this time Reed Durham, at the LDS Institute at the University of Utah, gave me a copy of a recent (26 August 1968) letter from Sterling McMurrin to Llewelyn McKay in which McMurrin claimed that President McKay told him in 1954 that the Church had no doctrine "of any kind pertaining to the Negro"—only "a practice, not a doctrine, and the practice will some day be changed." While McMurrin's claims were consistent with the views of McKay's sons, neither struck me as compatible with the overall McKay record. However, they did move me to a more dispassionate perspective in my continuing research.

Many years later I learned that, read literally, McMurrin's claim almost certainly was true—though the implications were not those drawn at the time, i.e., that the policy was subject to simple administrative change. In retrospect the record shows that McKay believed the priesthood restriction was a policy rather than a doctrine—but a policy which could be changed only by revelation. His distinction between policy and doctrine was more subtle than was generally understood at the time. McKay believed that modern blacks were indeed literal descendants of those whom the Pearl of Great Price deemed ineligible for the priesthood.⁹ What he did not know was why individual blacks today were to be denied the priesthood, though

he assumed—given that God was no respecter of persons—that this restriction must somehow be related to the preexistence. His statement that there was no “doctrine” on the subject was simply another way of saying that no revelation illuminated the antecedents of the inspired policy.

In some regards I analyzed his position correctly in my 1973 article, but I was also appreciably off target. I deduced correctly that McKay believed the practice of priesthood denial to be inspired (i.e., based on revealed scripture), and therefore subject only to revelatory change. I also had an approximate understanding of his distinction between policy and doctrine on this subject. However, I missed completely the fact that he continued to accept the traditional genealogical relationships. As will be seen, even the doctrinally parsimonious First Presidency statement of 1969—a major source of my analytical inference—almost surely omitted genealogical references only as a matter of expediency, and not as a reflection of underlying doctrinal change.

That fall 1968 a Cornell graduate student named Stephen Taggart completed a paper on “Social Stress and the Emergence of Mormonism’s Negro Policy,” that circulated to some enthusiasm at the University of Utah. In it Taggart proposed at greater length than anyone previously had the “Missouri thesis” of the origin of Mormon teachings on blacks. Put briefly, he hypothesized that the priesthood ban originated in the mid-1830s as a direct result of traumatic Mormon encounters with Missouri residents over the slavery issue. To my reading, Taggart’s underlying research was superficial and added little to the works of historians Fawn Brodie and Warren Jennings.¹⁰ I also found little support for his conclusions. When the spring 1969 issue of *Dialogue* announced that this essay had won an award and would appear in the summer issue, I was very surprised. During what spare

⁹McKay’s initial acceptance of traditional beliefs on priesthood denial was implicit in his being a part of the First Presidency which issued the statement of 17 August 1949, invoking the curse on Cain. Then, in an important 1954 talk in South Africa, McKay explicitly characterized African blacks as the descendants of the cursed pharaohnic line. He was equally explicit in a 1958 press conference at the dedication of the London Temple. Throughout this period and until March 1968, McKay also authorized use of the 1949 statement in response to private inquiries. As late as September 1969, a First Presidency discussion (discussed below) appears to assume McKay’s continued belief that blacks were descendants of Cain. In short, at no point can the case be made that he ultimately had discarded the traditional beliefs. McKay, *Journal Record*, 17 January 1954, 2-15 September 1958, 1 March 1968, 10 September 1969.

¹⁰Taggart’s analytical framework was very similar to Brodie’s in *No Man Knows My History*, and most of his new references were found in Warren A. Jennings, “Factors in the Destruction of the Mormon Press in Missouri, 1833,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Winter 1967): 56-76.

time I had on a pediatrics rotation at Primary Children's Hospital, I wrote a detailed response and sent it to Eugene England, then editing the quarterly at Stanford.

I did not know that Taggart died that summer (1969) after revising his essay somewhat; he had also added the McMurrin letter reporting the 1954 conversation with President McKay and a letter from Llewelyn McKay confirming to Taggart the accuracy of the McMurrin account.¹¹

Many years later I learned that the Taggart essay had triggered a conversation among McKay and two of his sons (10 September) at which Alvin R. Dyer was present, followed by a brief exchange of views at three subsequent First Presidency meetings (17, 24, 30 September) and a final private meeting between Brown and Dyer (8 October). These exchanges focused not so much on the historical analysis, but rather on the views Taggart attributed to McKay. (The First Presidency then consisted of McKay, first and second counselors Brown and Nathan Eldon Tanner, and additional counselors Joseph Fielding Smith and Thorpe B. Isaacson, both appointed October 1965 and Dyer, appointed April 1968. Isaacson was nonfunctional at this point, incapacitated by illness.) A copy of the revised Taggart essay had been mailed to Hugh B. Brown in September 1969. Brown in turn gave a copy to McKay's son Lawrence, suggesting he take the matter up with his father. Lawrence did this on 10 September, in company with his brother Llewelyn and Alvin R. Dyer. As Dyer recorded:

We sat in the President's office [in the McKay apartment], the President seeming quite alert and roused for the discussion to follow. Lawrence explained that on the basis of his father's statement to Sterling McMurrin some time ago, that the withholding of the Priesthood from the Negro by the Church was a practice and not a doctrine. An article had been written for "Dialogue Magazine" by a Brother Taggart . . . which had received more or less an endorsement by Llewelyn based upon the reported interview which President McKay had had with Sterling McMurrin.

This article seemed, in Lawrence McKay's mind, to bring the whole Negro question regarding the right to hold the Priesthood into focus, and that if this truly was a practice and not a doctrine, as Sterling McMurrin had inferred from President McKay's statement to him, then why was this not the time to drop the practice.

He asked his father if this was not perhaps the time to announce that the Negro could be given the Priesthood, which he alone could announce, and to do so now voluntarily rather than to be pressured into it later.

¹¹Llewelyn McKay read the McMurrin letter to his father and wrote Taggart "that President McKay told him the letter accurately represents what he said to McMurrin in 1954." Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy*, 74.

Lawrence asked the question, "What proof do we have that Negroes are descendants of Cain?"¹²

The merits of the linkage to Cain indeed should have been the ultimate question, as I later learned, since the entire doctrine would prove dependent on this assumed relationship. But at this key juncture, Dyer felt obliged to plunge into the discussion and enumerate many of the traditional proof-text arguments in support of priesthood denial. Dyer also reported a 1961 conversation with McKay in which McKay said that the priesthood denial could be changed only by revelation. This discourse largely ended the conversation, with Dyer accepting an assignment to read and report on Taggart's essay. Lawrence then withdrew, saying, "Perhaps, father, we had better leave this with you and you can think about it."

Within three weeks Dyer reported back to a First Presidency meeting also held in the McKay apartment attended by McKay, Tanner, Brown, Smith and Dyer. Dyer brought a short paper prepared in response to Taggart's essay, which, having read, he characterized as "filled with untruths and vilifications," and "one of the most vicious, untrue articles that has ever been written about the Church."¹³ Dyer's rebuttal, which was not discussed at the meeting, was a shallow restatement of the traditional notion that priesthood denial related to the preexistence, which even Dyer felt should not be published because it "amplified [i.e., speculatively emended] the scriptures and the revelations that have been received about the Curse of Cain."¹⁴ At a private meeting with Dyerr the next week on 8 October, Brown summarily dismissed Dyer's arguments, saying that blacks should be given the priesthood and that "we have only one scripture in Abraham that suggested otherwise." Brown "then

¹²Journal Record, 10 September 1969. During the period of these excerpts, Dyer's detailed summary memos of discussions by the First Presidency—held in McKay's apartment—were often included verbatim in McKay's Journal Record under the date of the meeting.

¹³McKay, Journal Record, 17 September 1969.

¹⁴Ibid., 30 September 1969. In this meeting of the Presidency Hugh B. Brown reported that *Dialogue* had decided against publishing the Taggart essay. Brown did not mention that this was a decision of the Taggart family, who decided rather to have the essay published in book form. It appeared as Stephen G. Taggart, *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970). Dyer's ten-page paper, entitled "An Article" (and without date), eventually received informal circulation, generally photocopies passed among those particularly interested in the subject. More philosophical than substantive and supported by only four or five references, it was even less compelling than the arguments Dyer made off the top of his head in the September 10 meeting. This subject was not new to Dyer, however, as he had addressed it at length as early as 1961 in a talk entitled "For What Purpose?" which received wide circulation in later years. A copy of "An Article" was later included in the Journal Record, on 25 December 1969.

stated that [President] George Albert Smith stated that withholding of the Priesthood . . . was a practice," to which Dyer retorted, "but a practice based upon principles that have been revealed from the Lord."¹⁵ Brown's assertion almost certainly derived from a letter received by Tanner and discussed two weeks earlier attributing to George Albert Smith's son the recent statement that his father believed priesthood denial was a policy of "custom and not of revelation." At this 24 September meeting Joseph Fielding Smith had taken issue with the claim.¹⁶ I heard a similar rumor about George Albert Smith's views some years later but was never able to substantiate it; I believe that this statement of Smith's purported beliefs reflects a misreading of Smith in much the same way that some misunderstood McKay.

In writing up this stiff 8 October exchange, Dyer claimed that Brown had "twice of late" tried to get the priesthood ban lifted.¹⁷ Dyer's apparent anger at Brown would seem justified. Brown unquestionably was aware that McKay more than once had said such change could come only by revelation, so his efforts to bring about change "administratively," however well-intended, clearly were to some extent disingenuous on Brown's part and undoubtedly exploited the failing memory of the frail and elderly McKay.

I knew nothing about these conversations at the time; but in mid-December, I did receive a letter from Gene England at *Dialogue*, including galleys for what had become Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*, and a request to recast my critique as a review essay. The most significant change from the original Taggart manuscript, as noted above, was the addition of McMurrin's letter on McKay's 1954 views and Llewelyn McKay's confirmation to Taggart of its accuracy.

I worked as quickly as I could on the revision, because I was about to pack out for a six-month Navy deployment to the Indian Ocean, but my

¹⁵Ibid., October 8, 1969.

¹⁶McKay's Journal Record, 24 September 1969—amid the Taggart-initiated exchanges—states that during that day's First Presidency meeting Tanner reported receiving a letter from "Dr. Reed P. Wahlquist" (who "claims to be an active Latter-day Saint") who "mentions that in conversing with President George Albert Smith's son recently he stated that President Smith had said that categorically the Church's position on the negro question was one of custom and not of revelation. President Joseph Fielding Smith said: 'He is wrong on that.' President Smith further stated that the Pearl of Great Price is clear on the matter and that it has been accepted as scripture. The brethren asked me if I [McKay] wanted to make any ruling on the matter and I answered that I did not want to make any statement on the question this morning." Brown and Dyer also attended this meeting.

¹⁷The minutes do not further illuminate this assertion. The discussions surrounding the Taggart paper and the forthcoming 1969 First Presidency statement would have afforded Brown the opportunity to again press for change—as he had done in 1962 and 1963.

task was complicated by a few public glimpses into ongoing but largely unpublicized developments within the First Presidency.

Brown reportedly later said that at one point that fall he had persuaded a majority of the Twelve to support a change in the priesthood policy during a meeting held while Harold B. Lee, then acting president of the Twelve, was out of town. When Lee returned, he blocked Brown's efforts.¹⁸ Instead, a new First Presidency statement was prepared under Lee's direction and signed by Brown and Tanner. Apostle Mark E. Petersen showed this statement to McKay only after its December 15 dissemination to local Church leaders; when McKay saw it, he said he thought it "a fine statement."¹⁹

After this statement had been distributed to local leaders but before it was made public, Hugh B. Brown was reported in the press on 25 December as saying that the policy of priesthood denial "will change in the not too distant future."²⁰ In view of the First Presidency statement's inherent conflict with Brown's remarks, Lee did not want the statement released to the general public until a later date, hoping a delay "would lessen the possibility of further breach in the impression that President Brown had given to the members of the Church."²¹ Brown then qualified his remarks in a follow-up interview with Associated Press, saying he was expressing "his own opinion and not necessarily a policy statement of the Church."²²

As late as 8 January, a joint meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve concluded that the 15 December statement still should not be published. However, the next day the Salt Lake Tribune carried an article by New York Times writer Wallace Turner, which included extracts from the statement. As Dyer summarized the discussion, the article conveyed "a distorted version and builds up to a greater extent the problem." As a result, the joint council decided to officially

¹⁸Edwin B. Firmage, interviewed by Gregory A. Prince, 10 October 1996, typescript transcription in my possession, used by permission. Firmage is Brown's grandson and biographer.

¹⁹McKay, Journal Record, 25 December 1969.

²⁰[no reporter but headed "Special to the Tribune"], "LDS Leader Says Curb on Priesthood to Ease," Salt Lake Tribune, 25 December 1969. Brown had been interviewed by Lester Kinsolving, religion columnist for the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

²¹McKay, Journal Record, 26 December 1969. Part of the record under this date includes events a few days in the future. The quotation is Dyer's report of his conversation with Harold B. Lee.

²²*Ibid.*, 26 December 1969. The quotation is Dyer's report of what Lee said Brown told the press. Dyer also quoted the Associated Press "article," which read, "Brown said he told Kinsolving that 'My opinion would be a change. I don't know when.'" To this Dyer added, "For some reason, the Associated Press article has never been published to my knowledge in any of the newspapers."

release the statement for publication. The text appeared in the next day's Church News, January 10th.²³

The key portions of the new First Presidency statement were:

From the beginning of this dispensation, Joseph Smith and all succeeding presidents of the Church have taught that Negroes . . . were not yet to receive the priesthood, for reasons which we believe are known to God, but which He has not made fully known to man.

Our living prophet, President David O. McKay, has said, "The seeming discrimination by the Church toward the Negro is not something which originated with man; but goes back into the beginning with God . . . [sic]

"Revelation assures us that this plan antedates man's mortal existence, extending back to man's pre-existent state."²⁴

Then, just a few days later, the *Salt Lake Tribune* on 15 January carried an article in which Sterling McMurrin's claims regarding McKay's views were first published. This piece included another confirmation, this time directly to the *Tribune*, by Llewelyn McKay, that his father had recently confirmed the accuracy of the McMurrin account. At this point, President McKay was terminally ill. He died just three days later without making any public statement on these claims.

Blissfully ignorant of the "rest of the story," I finished my revision of the Taggart review and mailed it to *Dialogue* on 20 January 1970. Despite

²³ Journal Record, which in this instance is a copy of Dyer's "Journal Record" dated 8 January 1970.

²⁴The McKay quotation included in the First Presidency statement was taken from a personal letter written 3 November 1947, four years before McKay became Church president. Here is the extract, with relevant omitted text restored in brackets:

Our living prophet, President David O. McKay, has said, "The seeming discrimination by the Church toward the Negro is not something which originated with man; but goes back into the beginning with God.

[It was the Lord who said that Pharaoh, the first Governor of Egypt, though a 'righteous man, blessed with the blessings of the earth, with the blessings of wisdom . . . could not have the Priesthood.'

Now if we have faith in the justice of God, we are forced to the conclusion that this denial was not a deprivation of merited right. It may have been entirely in keeping with the eternal plan of salvation for all of the children of God.]

"Revelation assures us that this plan antedates man's mortal existence extending back to man's pre-existent state." The letter had been published, among other places, in Llewelyn R. McKay, *Home Memories of President David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1956), 226-31, and in Barrett's *Mormonism and the Negro*.

being "only" a review, it was the most obsessively documented treatment of the subject to date, eclipsing even the Taggart book itself. What I thought I had done in my Taggart review was to undermine not only Taggart's work but all previous historical/environmental explanations of Church teachings that rested on the same "Missouri thesis" argument. In brief, my compiled data—the most extensive on the subject to date—revealed no credible contemporary evidence of a Church-wide policy denying blacks the priesthood during the Missouri/Ohio years or even during the Nauvoo period. On the contrary, black priesthood holders were present and known to Church leaders both during and after this period. Still, I felt that I was at a very early stage in understanding the history of Church teachings, as I implied in my concluding remarks: "Because of the limited circulation or inaccessibility of some Church records, the history of this subject remains tentative and incomplete."

Despite my excessive attention to detail in this review, I chose to treat the new (1969) First Presidency statement only in a footnote, observing that the statement was misleading in its use of the McKay quotation. When I wrote my 1973 "Overview," I included a more explicit critique of the statement, pointing out that the quotation was taken from a letter penned before he was Church President (contrary to what was implied), and that an ellipsis in the quote had substantially changed the meaning of the original text. (See note 24.) But I also incorrectly believed that the 1969 statement signaled the "official" abandonment of the Cain/Ham thesis as explanation of priesthood denial. *Two decades later I learned that the First Presidency statement, while technically misleading in its use of the McKay quotation, probably captured the essence of McKay's perspective. In retrospect it also was more an effort to exclude the lineage arguments from public discussion than a decision that lineage was no longer relevant.*

Previously, until 1968, the First Presidency had responded to inquiries with a statement prepared in 1949 (the First Presidency then consisted of George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and McKay) which quoted Brigham Young linking blacks to the cursed "seed of Cain."

President Brigham Young said: "Why are so many inhabitants of the earth cursed with a skin of blackness? It comes in consequence of their fathers rejecting the power of the holy priesthood, and the law of God. They will go down to death. And when the rest of the children have received their blessings in the holy priesthood, then that curse will be removed from the seed of Cain."²⁵

²⁵First Presidency, Statement, 17 August 1949. This 1949 statement was not issued publicly by the presidency, but rather was sent out in response to private

By the late 1960s this Cain-linked response no longer was deemed constructive, as the First Presidency had reflected in a March 1968 discussion:

We gave consideration to answering inquiries which come to the Church regarding the Negroes holding the Priesthood. We considered a letter that had been prepared to a Stake President; in which letter quotations were made from President Young and President Wilford Woodruff which refer to the pre-existent unworthiness of the spirits of Negroes in receiving the curse of Cain. President [Hugh B.] Brown said that since people do not believe in a pre-existence, such statements only lead to confusion, and he recommended that they be stricken from the letter. President [Joseph Fielding] Smith concurred, saying the less we say in these letters about this subject the better it would be, and that if we said anything by way of reference as to the reason for the Church's stand, we should quote the passage from the Book of Abraham (P of GP, Abraham 1:26-27).

I [McKay] approved the deletion of the statements by Presidents Young and Woodruff, stating that the more we said about the subject, the more we shall have to explain, and that the statement should be clear, positive, and brief.²⁶

Although I didn't know it at the time, this line of thinking clearly was the rationale for the 1969 text.

The winter 1969 issue of *Dialogue* containing "my first publication" reached me during a port stop in Bombay, India, the following June.²⁷ It was very exciting, but there were no other Mormons on board with whom to share the moment so I cornered the Methodist chaplain—a good friend—and, as we toured the city in a mini-cab, recounted the whole story.

In early August 1970 I left my ship in Mombasa, Kenya, for a two-year assignment at the American Embassy in Cyprus but was routed through Washington, D.C., to join my wife and have a brief orientation. I took the opportunity to fly out to Utah over a long weekend to check out some new materials I had been invited to peruse at BYU. At the time my brother, Larry, was a student there and, while doing a research project at the Lee Library, had discussed my *Dialogue* review with a member of the Special Collections staff. This person apparently was impressed with the thoroughness of my study and said that, given my analysis, I must have been familiar

inquiries. When the statement eventually was published in books such as Stewart's *Mormonism and the Negro* (1960), 18-18, and Lund's *The Church and the Negro* (1967), 89-91, a 1951 date was assigned, presumably reflecting a later private issuance under the McKay administration. The 1951 date was thus the popularly accepted date for this "first published statement." In my review of Taggart's book, I qualified this accepted view and corrected the record more explicitly in my 1973 "Overview."

²⁶McKay, Journal Record, 1 March 1968.

²⁷Lester Bush, "A Commentary on Stephen G. Taggart's *Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins*," *Dialogue* 4 (Winter 1969): 86-102.

with the Adam S. Bennion papers, which seemed to support my conclusions. My brother knew I hadn't even heard of them and said so. The individual he was conversing with suggested that I could see the material, if ever I was in Utah—hence my trip.

The Adam S. Bennion papers were a collection of First Presidency minutes and letters relating to the priesthood policy, collected by the apostle apparently as part of a mid-1950s First Presidency review. These materials provided a wealth of insights, but most importantly they answered definitively a crucial question: did the Church have some "secret" information which was informing and sustaining its published statements on blacks and the priesthood? Was there a revelation, or anything more reassuring than what was in the public record, to reinforce priesthood denial? The Bennion papers made it obvious that there was not.

During this trip I also had a very brief interview with Elder Spencer W. Kimball, then Acting President of the Quorum of the Twelve.²⁸ In our conversation, he seemed quite confident about the legitimacy of the priesthood ban. When I asked about its basis, he quoted the usual Pearl of Great Price reference. I then asked about the McMurrin statements quoting McKay and particularly about McKay's recent alleged confirmation of the McMurrin account. I thought Kimball was going to say that McKay had been misquoted, but his view was that McKay may well have said what the press reported but only because he was "senile" (Kimball's term) at the time—and could have been led to agree to most things.

I also called Elder Marion D. Hanks.²⁹ He graciously agreed to see me while his family went on to sacrament meeting. During this visit I briefly explained what I had learned to date in my studies, to which he responded very supportively and asked if I would send him more documentation of the Church policy. Unfortunately it was nearly three years before I responded to his request.

We carried an extensive library with us to Cyprus, in September 1970, which I continued to search for relevant quotations. I soon began to type

²⁸I had never met Kimball and gained this short-notice interview only because someone interested in my research arranged for me to use his previously scheduled appointment. Only Kimball and I were at this meeting, which took place in his office about 24 August 1970.

²⁹This visit was Sunday, 23 August 1970. I hoped to get another perspective into leadership thinking. Hanks had been an Assistant to the Twelve since April 1968 and, for the fifteen years before that, one of the First Council of Seventy. He didn't know me, but I had attended his lectures at the LDS Institute at the University of Utah during my internship year and once had chatted with him in a chance encounter at the hospital pharmacy, finding him remarkably personable and open.

up a comprehensive chronological full-text compilation of everything I had. In the absence of a word processor or even a correcting typewriter, this chore was tedious and time consuming—but it proved to be a real eye-opener. By the time I finished my two-year assignment, my single-spaced anthology totaled over a thousand items distilled into four hundred pages of historically sequenced source material. Included were the accounts of several dozen First Presidency discussions or letters on the subject, from almost every decade back to the 1870s. I finally could almost literally read the entire story.

By the summer of 1971 I was able to spell out my thoughts on how I might approach writing about this subject in a letter to my brother, as part of a larger discussion on working for change from within.

[A] systematic approach to the Negro [doctrine] problem has at least the potential for more ramifications than have been available for some time. . . . But being a pragmatist (or realist . . .), it is obvious that the "I have the answer" approach (or I have more insight, or I am more moral) is not going to accomplish anything—even when one's sources seem to justify a considerable amount of confidence. The approach has to be "my information seems to compel this conclusion"—this avoids ad hominem rebuttals, as well as hassles over logic, and directs attention to the sources—which is ultimately the goal of the whole exercise in the first place. . . . I believe a dispassionate (as possible) essay . . . would be invaluable if handled with finesse (deleting emotion tinged words) . . .

Cyprus belonged to the Switzerland Mission at the time but had no organized groups or branches. About the mid-point of my assignment, I was made group leader of a new Nicosia Group. As such, I hosted the mission president from Switzerland. In the spring of 1972, the new mission president, Ted Cannon, and his wife, Janath Russell Cannon, later first counselor in Barbara B. Smith's Relief Society general presidency, visited us for the first time. The Cannons proved remarkably open. I discussed my research project with them and showed them my almost completed compilation. Sister Cannon was very interested and even offered to index my references. It was apparent that she had her own reservations about some popular "Church" teachings on blacks. Before leaving Cyprus in June 1972 I made two photocopies of my full typescript, one for me and one for the Cannons.

Back in Washington in August 1972, I began a new job which led directly to an assignment in Saigon as an American embassy doctor, effective the end of September. Yvonne and our year-old daughter accompanied me. In my weeks in Washington, I made a few better photocopies of my notes, had them bound, and gave most to friends. The title on the spine was *Compilation on the Negro in Mormonism*, and all had an introductory page

with my "permanent" address (i.e., that of my parents in Florida) and a brief explanatory note.

II

I always intended to write an analytical synthesis of the *Compilation*, as an introduction to the material, and now wondered if *Dialogue* might be willing to take on such a lengthy historical essay. While doctrinal history later became a *Dialogue* forte, there was not much precedent to that point. So before I left Washington, I gave a copy of the *Compilation* to Mary Bradford, who lived in Arlington and was then on *Dialogue*'s board of editors. She encouraged me to write an article. On her advice I also wrote to Robert A. Rees, who had succeeded Gene England as *Dialogue*'s editor, in Los Angeles, and he too was enthusiastic. I proposed a special issue to include my article on the doctrinal history, one on the antiquity of the traditional scriptural argument, perhaps by Hugh Nibley, and an anthropological analysis.

Within two weeks of our arrival in Saigon, I received a letter from Janath Cannon, still in Switzerland. She planned to show my compilation to Elder Boyd K. Packer, who was about to visit, "and ask him what he thinks you should do with it."³⁰

A month later she wrote again, asking me to send Packer "a key to your source references," and explaining:

It was most fortunate that the opportunity presented itself to bring your manuscript on the Negro to the attention of Elder Boyd Packer, as he not only has the scholastic background to appreciate the value of such a compilation, but has served on a committee to consider the problem of the Negro in relation to Church policy. His interest in your work was genuine, and upon his return to Salt Lake City he took up the matter with the First Presidency. Today President Cannon received a letter asking if we would be willing to send our copy to him for their perusal. . . .

As a matter of fact, I will be rather glad to be relieved of the responsibility of personal possession of this treasure. It's a little like owning the Hope diamond—one's pleasure in gloating over it always dimmed by the vague fear of disaster.³¹

³⁰Janath Cannon, Letter to Lester Bush, 13 October 1972. I had never met Packer and knew little about him beyond the fact that he was a relatively new member of the Quorum of the Twelve (April 1970), that he had been an Assistant to the Twelve since 1961, and that he was second youngest of the apostles.

³¹Janath Cannon, Letter to Lester Bush, 14 November 1972. Packer requested the "key to your source references" because I had abbreviated citations in my *Compilation*. Most of these were conventional abbreviations; a few were

I willingly wrote to Packer, enclosing a partial bibliography, offering my fuller notes, and concluding, "It would make me very happy if I could make some contribution to the understanding of this complicated subject." He acknowledged my letter, asked for some additional information, and advised me, "Once we have had a chance to take a look at it we will be in touch with you." This was in December 1972. In mid-January, after receiving my additional material, Packer wrote, "It may take some time to have it properly reviewed."³²

About the time I arrived in Vietnam, I learned of another interesting collection of documents, in the George Albert Smith papers at the University of Utah. I wrote to the Special Collections section of the Marriott Library requesting photocopies; they arrived promptly a few weeks later. These papers were remarkably similar to the materials in the Bennion papers, though assembled at an earlier date (late 1940s) and thus lacking the more recent materials (through 1954). While not the only sources of insight into "private" First Presidency thinking available to me, these two collections were by far the most extensive.

By now I felt confident that I understood and could describe the basic outline of the history of blacks and the priesthood—and that there could be no remaining surprises. There were, of course, relevant leadership meetings for which I had no record, but the hundreds of public comments I had collected in combination with fifty "private" records—Presidency minutes or letters—left no real possibility that something appreciably different would be found in these remaining "in between" accounts. In reality, the parallel private sources, while sometimes more candid and ambivalent than the public record, had included no more substantive support for Church policy than what was known publicly. (In some important regards my materials revealed the private understandings to be surprisingly incomplete, largely because they overlooked many important published sources.) My remaining concern therefore was that I convey the totality of my information as accurately and objectively as possible.

In late January 1973 I wrote to Robert Rees, saying I wasn't yet finished with the article. In fact the situation in Saigon had been quite hectic ever since my arrival in October. The first two months in country, we lived in a hotel apartment—this, during the period of the final U.S. military draw-down and several failed cease-fire attempts. In December 1972 we moved

approximations of the initials of individuals with whom I had spoken. I sent Packer a guide only to the former.

³²Bush, Letter to Packer, 27 November 1972; Packer, Letter to Bush, 7 December 1972, 17 January 1973.

into a little in-town villa, surrounded by a ten-foot wall with another eight feet of barbed wire above that. On our first day in this house the windows were blown in by a series of explosions at a nearby ammunition depot, sabotaged by Viet Cong infiltrators. Also in December—and faced with yet another breakdown in the peace talks—the United States extended its bombing strikes to Hanoi, leading to greatly heightened security measures in Saigon. A cease-fire finally was agreed to late in January, but the bombing leading up to that hour filled every day with the sound of “Rolling Thunder” (as we called our loudly audible B-52 strikes³³) right up to the last minute. Amid all this I still had regional medical duties, flying around in little planes that in some provinces had to land and take off without a runway. Fitting in time to work on my *Dialogue* article was a challenge—both for me and my family.

In late February with my manuscript essentially finished, Yvonne and I took a short vacation to Bangkok and Singapore. The LDS mission president in Singapore was Miller Shurtleff, who once had been my bishop in Virginia. We dropped in for a visit and spent some time discussing my correspondence with Elder Packer and the article I was completing. Shurtleff was not particularly surprised at my findings nor concerned about my plans to publish. He had his own questions about Church teachings on the subject, heightened by the inconsistent written guidance received over the years in Singapore on the handling of the dark-skinned peoples of the neighboring countries. The timing of our conversation proved fortuitous.

In March 1973, I finally sent my manuscript to *Dialogue*. By demonstrating the inextricable connection of priesthood denial to its original and least tenable justification (i.e., that blacks were descendants of Cain) and by reconstructing in context the full history of the subject—with all its manifest inconsistencies and human limitations, I believed I had undermined virtually the entire traditional case for the inspired origins of Mormon teachings. Notwithstanding the First Presidency’s seeming abandonment of traditional explanations—I believed (correctly, as it turned out) that many influential members of the Church leadership privately still believed the assumed ancient ancestry of modern Africans fully justified the current practice. I hoped they would see the imported “scientific” and cultural context from which this fundamentally racist justification seemed to derive. Believing (erroneously) that the First Presidency had discarded the traditional lineage justification, I also hoped they and others would now understand how pivotal this connection had been in the first place. My hope,

³³These were strikes in the south; technically “Rolling Thunder” was the bombing campaign in the north.

however naive, was that Church leaders would internally evaluate my findings for themselves, and then move on to question the legitimacy of the doctrine.

In the letter accompanying my manuscript, I first mentioned to Rees my contact with the Church leaders and my plan to send them a copy of my article, adding, "Partly for this reason, and because I don't believe it has detracted from an accurate overall understanding of the history, I have [trodden] very lightly through the past two decades of the Overview, and have dealt only briefly with the earlier statements of our present leadership."³⁴ I did not want to attack them personally, but rather their assumptions about the history of the subject.

Following the cease-fire on 28 January, the last of the U.S. military presence was withdrawn from Vietnam. The Hong Kong mission president, William Bradshaw, came down on Friday, 6 April, to reorganize the Saigon Branch leadership, transfer it to the local Vietnamese members, and introduce the first four full-time missionaries to Vietnam. He called a Vietnamese branch president (Nguyen Van The) and first counselor, and asked me to be second counselor. Bradshaw was a Brigham Young University zoology professor, and he and his wife Marge would prove to be wonderful "kindred spirits." I told Bradshaw that I would be happy to take the assignment but first needed to explain some things and let him reconsider whether I was the correct person for the job. Then I recounted the gist of what had happened and handed him my manuscript. After he read it thoroughly, he still wanted me in the branch presidency. He even had a few good suggestions on the manuscript, which we discussed at length. He, like Shurtleff, thought I should send an advance copy to the Church.

I then sent a copy of my article to Elder Packer and—contrary to my original thinking—mentioned my plans to publish in *Dialogue*. I wrote, in part:

It is impossible not to be aware of the sensitivity of this issue for the Church, nor to mistake the strong views held by many Church leaders on various aspects of the subject. I am also aware that many members equate acceptance of the Negro doctrine with having a testimony. For several years of my research I held essentially this view, but gradually the material moved me to a more neutral position. . . . I do not feel that I have "proved" anything, but do feel that the documents suggest that we have misunder-

³⁴Bush, Letter to Rees, 5 March 1973. Based on what the Cannons reported from Packer, I told Rees that "the First Presidency is once again studying the Negro question, and has asked for my notes." At this time I also told him, "I don't plan to mention *Dialogue*."

stood our own history on this subject. In a classical debate, I think the stronger case would not be on the side of an inspired origin for the Church teachings.

I used to assume that there were hidden insights into the Priesthood policy which were not evident in the remarkable discourses delivered on this subject between 1850 and 1930 or so; but among the papers I have found are Council and First Presidency minutes in which the Negro doctrine is discussed on many occasions during those years, and there has been no suggestion of information beyond that publicly espoused.

...

If you feel that there is anything which is particularly out of order, I would greatly value your suggestions.³⁵

Perhaps the least judicious item in my manuscript were two "introductory" quotations from the Uncle Remus "Tar Baby" stories. I worried at the time over the inclusion of these quotations, which in essence said (in a weak attempt at humor) that we seemed to have entrapped ourselves, but still should be "too sharp" to remain "stuck."³⁶

This manuscript produced a much faster response from Packer than my *Compilation*. Within two weeks, I received a call from Bradshaw in Hong Kong, who in turn had just been called by Carlos Smith at the mission home in Singapore. Smith was the Church's Regional Representative for Asia and had flown out from Salt Lake City to attend some regional meetings.

As relayed by Smith and Bradshaw, Packer wanted to acknowledge receipt of my paper, express the Church's "genuine interest and concern," and say they "were anxious" that I "not publish the material until after I had talked with a member of the Quorum of the Twelve." Bradshaw replied to Smith that, given my two-year assignment in Vietnam, there were some obstacles to that being possible any time soon. Smith said that there was to be a conference in the Philippines that summer which Apostle Ezra Taft

³⁵Bush, Letter to Packer, 16 April 1973.

³⁶The first of these was the epigraph to the entire article, prior even to a quotation introducing Section I:

"Tu'n me loose, fo' I kick de natchul stuffin' out'n you," sez Brer Rabbit, sezee, but de Tar-Baby, she ain't saying nothin.' She des hilt on, en den Brer Rabbit lose de use er his feet in de same way. Brer Fox, he lay low. (From "The Wonderful Tar-Baby Story")

The second quotation prefaced the concluding summary section:

"En who stuck you up dar whar you is? Nobody in de roun' worl.' You desk tuck en jam you'se'f on dat Tar-Baby widout waitin' for enny invite," sez Brer Fox, sezee, "en dar you is . . ." (From "How Mr. Rabbit Was Too Sharp For Mr. Fox")

Benson would be attending and that I could fly over to talk to Benson. Bradshaw replied that he thought I would prefer to talk to someone other than Benson, someone such as Packer. So I was given Packer's phone number with the suggestion that I call him directly.

I called Elder Packer the next day. After we talked, I wrote to Bradshaw an account of the conversation, on the same day:

I got through to Salt Lake City about 9:00 A.M. their time, and was eventually transferred to the Packer home. I think, perhaps hope, that I caught him unprepared, because though he immediately knew who I was, he seemed unclear as to what I was doing with my material—who was publishing it, what was to be published (the Compilation or article), whether I had already given permission for it to be published, etc.—as well as on any specific recommendations on the Church's part. When I recounted the information which I had already sent in the letter, he replied something to the effect that perhaps there was nothing more that could be done. I tried to pursue more exactly [what] they would like for me to do, and he said that they would like to have someone go over it with me, and that my Compilation [received by him four months earlier] had been referred to the Historian's Office three weeks ago. He gave me the impression, without being specific, that he might be able to talk to me about it, and that he occasionally got assignments out here (no mention of me talking to anyone else or going anywhere), but that it was not clear when we could get together—maybe in a few months, or maybe a year or more. He wondered about delaying the publication that long. I said I wasn't sure that it would be fair to *Dialogue* if they were building the next issue on my article to ask for so unspecific a delay, but that we did have several months at least. "Well," he thought perhaps nothing could be done. I suggested (explicitly) that if they [meaning Packer and whomever he was speaking for] would tell me specific things that they preferred be omitted that I would modify my paper, and that I thought there was ample time to make these adjustments. I also mentioned that virtually all the quotes were available in published form (either originally, or in an article, etc.). He said he was aware of that. (I rechecked this morning, and there are fewer than 10 quotes that can't be found in one obscure place or another; this isn't too surprising since over half of the paper relies on early Church publications.) Ultimately the whole thing seemed to end up in the air. He did ask for my phone number.

The foregoing sounds much more directed than was actually the case. I pieced that together from various places in the call. I can't find a good descriptive word, but it is somewhere near "vague" and "diffuse"—both in what was said, and the way in which it was said. There was no suggestion of "don't publish it." He seemed, if anything, to be avoiding a direct recommendation, or something that I might construe as telling me what to [do]—so much so that I'm still unsure what the specific

problem is. I feel comfortable, within myself, that offering to delete items which seem out of place, allows a wide leeway for suggestions. Yet I wondered if it might be the entire article; still, there was no hint whatsoever of that. At one point I thought I understood that the Historians [unspecified] would make recommendations, but then most of the time it sounded like he [Packer] might. I sense an overriding, but unspoken, reluctance on his part to write down any specific recommendations (for fear that it might be published? Or that it would identify a sore spot?). I still have no indication that any of the Church's "interest and concern" was directed at the meat of the article, the basic questions raised; rather it seemed to be more a concern with sources and image. For instance, at one point, he asked, Did I use the Bennion papers? Yes. At the Y? Yes. (I reference this clearly in both the paper and book [and in the abbreviation guide].) *Who* gave them to you (not, how did you come to find them)? [I responded that it had been several years since my research, and that I didn't recall specific individuals being involved; that, however, I had obtained the Smith papers simply by writing to the U[niversity of Utah] Library and asking for them. And the subject was dropped.] Or, another sequence: This is a rather sensitive issue out here now. Yes, but though I haven't been around there for several years, I thought it was much less sensitive now than it was in the Sixties. He agreed, but, then, timing might be important. This became diffuse, and led to the comment about waiting a month or two, or a few, or maybe a year or more until we could get together in the normal course of things.

Just about at the close of the conversation I asked, Would you like for me to write to [Robert] Rees and ask that the publication be delayed. (He asked earlier who my "contact" was at Dialogue, but didn't seem to recognize the name); he replied, "No, no, if those people thought we were interested in delaying, they would just hurry faster to get it published." I couldn't believe it, and said that had not been my impression, but whatever he thought best.

I don't know. A person to person contact would have had to have been more effective. My thoughts now are that they are not sure if they want anything taken out or not, or that they are unsure whether it's worth taking the chance to write and ask that things be omitted. I only stand to gain by having the historians review the material, because that was my ultimate goal and I feel confident that there are no significant errors.³⁷

The following week I wrote to Robert Rees and Davis Bitton, Assistant

³⁷Bush, Letter to Bradshaw, 1 May 1973. I believed throughout this time that Packer was somehow working with the First Presidency, based on the Cannons' report, and still assume that he had mentioned my materials to them—perhaps more as a warning of potential problems they might face. This understanding was reinforced by Packer's subsequent use of "we."

Church Historian and a *Dialogue* editor. I didn't know Bitton but had read his articles and thought he might be a bridge, so I took a chance. I told Rees I had sent the article to "the Church" with an explanation of my plans to publish, and asked Bitton if he could give me some insight into the historical problems to which Packer referred. Packer, meanwhile, followed up our conversation with a short written note:

It was good to visit with you on the telephone last week.

I hope it will be possible for you to delay publication of your historical review until we have a chance to discuss it. Perhaps some assignment will bring you here in the foreseeable future.³⁸

Both Rees and Bitton responded immediately, Rees asking for more details and Bitton writing that the Historian's Division had *not* seen my article although he had "heard that Elder Packer and others have been reading it." Bitton continued:

Could it be that the Authorities are consulting with the advisors to our Department rather than those of us who are historians?

Leonard Arrington told me that he has not seen your manuscript, although I am sure he would be interested in reading it.

If you want to authorize me to show your letter, I can approach Elder Packer directly, or perhaps Leonard will do it, and see what else we can find out. Otherwise, if there is anything else we can do in the way of providing information, let me know.³⁹

To further complicate things, I also learned that *Dialogue's* financial concerns were quite severe; accordingly Rees had accelerated the publication date for my article and wanted any changes sent in immediately. The dilemma these developments posed for me resolved miraculously just a week later when I had to escort an emergency medevac case to Washington, D.C., and my return itinerary allowed a three-day stopover in Salt Lake City and an overnight in Los Angeles. When I again called Packer's office, this time from Washington, he immediately found time in his schedule for an appointment.

We met on Wednesday, 30 May 1973; and during this meeting, he asked me to continue our conversation on Friday, to which I agreed. Packer also had asked Joseph Anderson to sit in on the entire conversation, so he was there throughout both meetings and occasionally participated. Anderson for decades had been Secretary to the First Presidency and was at this time an Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve and "managing director" of

³⁸Packer, Letter to Bush, 9 May 1973.

³⁹Bitton, Letter to Bush, 15 May 1973.

(i.e., General Authority responsible for) the newly (1972) reconstructed Historical Department. So far as I am aware, no notes were taken by anyone during the meeting.

Of interest regarding Anderson—given my circumstances—was a letter, familiar to me at the time, that he had sent to sociologist Lowry Nelson in 1952 on behalf of then Church President David O. McKay. McKay was responding to a letter Nelson had written him, accompanying a brief article Nelson planned to publish condemning the priesthood restriction. Anderson had replied: "President McKay wishes me to say that obviously you are entirely within your rights to publish any article you wish," and then continued, "I should like to add on my own account, however, that when a member of the Church sets himself up against doctrines preached by the Prophet Joseph Smith and by those who have succeeded him in the high office which he held, he is moving into a very dangerous position for himself personally."⁴⁰

Altogether we talked for just over three hours. I wrote several letters about my meetings after returning to Saigon. Together, they afford an extensive summary of my experiences.⁴¹ I began my first account by noting the "obvious curiosity" with which I was viewed, and continued:

Were the material not committed openly to publication with *Dialogue*, it is apparent that I might have been encouraged [by Packer and Anderson] to withhold the information, or publish it elsewhere. However, in view of the present situation they absolutely did not want to interfere with its publication.

[Packer said it was "unfortunate" that I had chosen to publish in *Dialogue* as this alone would give the article notoriety and lead to its use against the Church. Packer suggested that *BYU Studies* would have been a better choice, and as I laughed—and he in response laughed—I said, they wouldn't have touched it with a ten-foot pole. To this he replied, "pressure

⁴⁰Joseph Anderson, Letter to Lowry Nelson, 23 May 1952. A few years earlier, Nelson, a noted sociologist, was contacted by the Church during high-level deliberations over opening a mission in Cuba, concerned about whether certain groups there were free of "Negro blood." Greatly troubled by this, Nelson exchanged several letters with the First Presidency, which had included McKay as a counselor. His article, "Mormons and the Negro" appeared in *The Nation*, 24 May 1952, 488. To my knowledge, it was the first time a national publication had carried an article on the subject. In it Nelson was sharply critical of Church teachings.

⁴¹The foundation of this account is a letter written to a close friend, 8 June 1973, immediately after my return. Most of what has been added in brackets is an amalgam of extracts and paraphrases from this letter and others written 11 and 12 June and 1 October. Occasionally I have elaborated the account to include materials frequently recounted but not formerly written in detail, also in brackets.

might have been brought to bear.” At a later point in the conversation Anderson—perhaps more candidly—interjected that my work was the sort of thing that might reasonably have been placed in the Church archives, with no dissemination at all. Packer could see from my expression that wasn’t a constructive comment, so brushed it aside with a wave of his hand. In response to Packer’s point that it would be nice if the article were not going to be published in *Dialogue*, I offered—more than once—to tell *Dialogue* that the Church wanted them not to publish the article. Packer said that this would only hurry up the publication schedule. I said I thought he misunderstood those who were running *Dialogue*; he nonetheless was sure he did not want me to say that the Church was interested in any particular course of action. My unexpressed view was that, given my commitment to *Dialogue*, the Church would have to step up to the responsibility for its wishes; I would pass along a message but wasn’t going to take responsibility for the request.]

Dialogue is viewed from an “uneasy” perspective, to use [Packer’s] term. [During the first day’s interview Packer illustrated his concern with an anecdote about himself. He said that because of his academic background—an Ed.D. in educational administration from BYU—*Dialogue* early had asked if he would contribute an article. He said that he was considering doing so until he saw a statement of the *Dialogue* perspective which began, “We share the faith of our elders but . . .”⁴² The statement, he said, more appropriately should have been, “We share the faith of our elders, therefore . . .” So he declined to contribute. On the second day of my two days of interviews, Packer began by turning to a stack of *Dialogues* on his desk—perhaps six to eight of them, which he felt would illustrate to me the true nature of the publication. He started with the just published summer and autumn 1972 issues. The summer issue had colorful Rorschach-style inkblots on the cover which he was confident depicted male and female genitals—and twice he asked me what I saw in the inkblots. The autumn issue included a poem entitled “Prophet” which

⁴²Packer was paraphrasing G. Wesley Johnson’s “Editorial Preface” to the first issue of *Dialogue* 1 (Spring 1966): 5-6. Johnson had written, “A new generation of Mormons has arisen in this process of spreading about the land. Its members are curious, well-trained, and in some cases affluent; they are reflective, energetic, and in most cases committed to Church activity. They form study groups and discussion clubs to examine their religion and its relevance for contemporary society and culture. They seek to relate religious ideals to issues of everyday secular life. *They share the faith of their elders but* also possess a restrained skepticism born of the university, the office, and the laboratory. They display an inquiring attitude which favors open discussion with members inside the Mormon community and plead for greater communication with those outside of it. They have talked of the possibility of a written dialogue, an independent journal of opinion, to capture some of this expression and concern . . . (emphasis mine)

with its accompanying illustration he labeled "blasphemous." He also found nothing redeeming in an art section in the same issue which included a depiction of Bonnie (of Bonnie and Clyde fame) as she received her fatal gunshots.⁴³ I said that I didn't know anything about art and wasn't in a position to judge the merits of the works he found offensive; so with what struck me as a look of skepticism, he discontinued the demonstration.]

To a large extent, they were sorry the material was available—but this already had been verified for them by the Historical Dept., so that was not primarily directed at me. [Packer did, however, ask again who at BYU gave me the Bennion papers. I told him that my brother originally had come onto the Bennion papers while doing research at BYU. I was asked if my brother worked there at the time, which he didn't, and the subject was again dropped. As part of this discussion I again mentioned that almost identical materials were available in the George Albert Smith papers at the University of Utah. To this Packer responded with visible disdain that this was not the result of a charitable interest in scholarship on the part of the Smith family, but rather they had *sold* (as in, "their birthright") these sensitive materials to the university.]

My notes apparently were not evaluated for substantive questions, but rather from the perspective of what material had gotten out, and how. [I began the interviews still thinking that Packer was going to point out historical problems of some sort. One of the first things I learned was that the closest person to a historian who had read the manuscript was Joseph Anderson, who was there with us, and was the advisor to the Historical Department—just as Davis Bitton had speculated. Anderson, of course, was not a historian at all, but he lived through a lot of history, including the decades as a Secretary to the First Presidency.]

[When I pressed for some specifics as to problems with my paper, they explained that the material I had included on President Joseph F. Smith showed him reversing his opinion on a crucial point regarding Elijah Abel, an early black priesthood holder. This information, they said, could undermine faith in his role as a prophet, so was inappropriate.⁴⁴

⁴³*Dialogue* 7 (Summer 1972): front cover; *Dialogue* 7 (Autumn 1972): front cover; Clifton Holt Jolley, "The Prophet," with facing art by Kim Whitesides, *Dialogue* 7 (Autumn 1972): 64-65; James C. Christensen, "Notes from the Artist's Sketchbook," subtitled "Bonnie . . . (drawing) study for a triptic on violence, media and children" *Dialogue* 7 (Autumn 1972): 45.

⁴⁴The priesthood status of Elijah Abel (who had been ordained both an elder and a seventy in 1836 and whose "certificate" as such had been renewed in 1841 and later) was the subject of repeated leadership discussion during the late nineteenth century, with Joseph F. Smith always refuting the claim that Joseph Smith had invalidated the ordination. Then, in 1908, Joseph F. Smith inexplicably reversed himself, claiming that in fact the ordination *had* been invalidated. I discussed this

There were similar concerns about some of the material I had on Brigham Young. While it was clear that they wanted me to infer from this that there was an error in my understanding, they had nothing concrete to support this view, so the conversation moved on to other subjects.]

It is hard to summarize the whole [interview]. [One exchange was triggered by Elder Anderson presenting me with a copy of the 1969 First Presidency statement, as though it were the answer to my questions. In response I pointed out] the errors in the last [i.e., 1969] First Presidency statement, and the one before [1949], and it was obvious to all that I was more familiar with the specifics of the history than they, so [they] left that approach as irrelevant. They fully accepted the sincere basis of my interest, and my objectivity, [but] totally rejected any history of the doctrine as relevant to its authenticity.

While acknowledging that the discussion [of the origins of Church teachings on blacks] had been opened by Joseph Fielding Smith, and ultimately by Brigham Young, they did not think [Smith's] obvious scholastic inadequacies justified further discussion—though [they acknowledged] the problem this posed for people interested in the subject who see Stewart's *Mormonism and the Negro*, as well as Smith's *Way to Perfection* in multiple editions sold as [virtually official] explanations of the Church position. [I asked how it was that, if the Church thought the whole subject inappropriate for published discussion, no effort was made to dissuade those from *within* the Mormon establishment from publishing on it—to which there was no answer.⁴⁵]

It seems, to my genuine surprise, that they are convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that the policy is divinely instituted, and intimated strongly that this had been made manifest to President Lee. [While Packer strongly implied this conclusion, he used a double negative to make this point, which I thought odd.⁴⁶ I asked if he considered it possible that continuation of the policy of priesthood denial was the Lord's will, even without it having originally been a revealed or inspired practice. He hesitated, unexpectedly, but eventually said that for him this was not a possibility. I also asked—more than once, what he thought about the

development at some length in my paper, demonstrating that Joseph F. Smith's earlier accounts were the most accurate. Part of the sensitivity probably derived from the use by later Church leaders—including then-President Harold B. Lee—of the 1908 account to dismiss the “problem” of Elijah Abel.

⁴⁵I referred to the contemporary publications by Apostle Bruce R. McConkie, John L. Lund of the Church's Seminary and Institute Program, and William E. Berrett, vice-president of Brigham Young University—all widely quoted on the subject.

⁴⁶His remarks were to the effect that “I would not say that [the Prophet] has not received,” followed by an anecdote on a tangentially related experience in which President Lee said that “the veil was very thin.”

inspiration of the intertwined teachings linking blacks to Cain, Ham, Canaan, etc. He always dismissed this—again, often with a wave of the hand, as though these links were without merit but without actually saying this explicitly. But then, toward the very end of our discussions he followed up some point by saying that there just was something about “that lineage”—referring to the traditional biblical genealogy—which would bar interracial temple marriages with blacks even after they received the priesthood.]

I expressed hope that [the modern confirmation to President Lee] would be made known to the membership of the Church, [but this suggestion] was more or less sidetracked with references to looking for a sign. [And I said that] at the least I thought that the historians could be asked about First Presidency statements that purported to give historical facts, which gave the impression that conclusions were being drawn from history that might (and did) prove inaccurate [to which there was no response].

Packer's other points dealt more with me—whether I would become a rallying point for the disaffected fringe, what I would do when the whole thing “blew up again” in response to my article (I told him I didn't expect anything to happen simply based on my article), whether I was going to pursue it further, etc.

Anyhow, it was a very friendly exchange—Anderson characterizing me as “a much younger man than I expected” [at the time I was thirty], and Packer as “a unique bird.” It was a profitable meeting for me; they seemed very genuine in their concern, and to be thoroughly dedicated to the Church. . . . On the other hand, we have a long way to go before values which academically oriented individuals consider important are given any priority in their minds. [Packer, in fact, spent some time recounting the course he saw as typical of others who delved into doctrinal history, especially on this subject—an escalating progression leading to loss of faith, marital infidelity, and divorce. It was implicit in his comments that one of the reasons I was deemed “unique” was that somehow I had done all this research and writing while remaining—in the eyes of the Switzerland, Hong Kong, and Singapore Mission presidents—a strong Church and family person.]

While I would have [preferred that] the discussion led elsewhere, I was satisfied with our interchange, and that my position appeared easily tolerated, even though it was rejected, and . . . one they would rather not see. [Packer] initially minimized the research [as nothing really new]; [but] by the end he commented that it was obviously the most extensive study yet done on the subject. [He said he now planned to send my lengthy *Compilation* over to the Historical Department, to be logged into the general Church archives, i.e., this was the end of the discussion. At no point did he make any suggestion of First Presidency interest.]

During this stop I also had time to visit the new History Division, and

my sessions with the historians were wonderful. The subject of my paper was as important to many of them as it was to me. Furthermore, I represented a generic case study of the Church's response to someone tackling any of a number of potentially controversial subjects of historical importance, and they saw my case as the sort they reasonably should be asked to weigh in on. I summarized this experience:

The historians were unanimously delighted to see me, and all came trooping over to shake hands, and invite me into their offices to talk. [Some of them knew at least the gist of my paper—which must have received some informal circulation—and many were aware of my ongoing interviews. They were particularly interested in my discussions with Packer, and in individual conversations I recounted some of the experiences reported above, including the probing into who gave me the Bennion papers. They seemed genuinely taken aback that I had been persistently questioned on the point. Leonard Arrington told me that he had recently been asked, no doubt in connection with this, if the Bennion papers were at the Y, and if they were available to scholarly research, to both of which he answered affirmatively. A few months later I heard from the special collections staffer at BYU that “Some time after your statement that you used the Bennion papers at the University, the Library was contacted in behalf of the First Presidency stating that we should not have copies of the councils’ minutes and requested [that the library] send them up . . . ”]

What a reversal over previous years [the Historical Department had been]. I was given virtually free access to all the things previously denied to me, plus recommendations on my paper. [I was particularly impressed at the willingness of Arrington and his staff to help me make optimal use of my limited time and, despite my obviously amateur status, to treat me like a colleague. In response to my own insecurity Arrington made the generous guesstimate that I already had acquired 97% of what then could be found.] . . . I was generally quite encouraged for the Church by my visit to that Department.

In Los Angeles I finally met Bob Rees. He gave me short recommendations from a couple of overly generous reviewers—including Richard Bushman and an anonymous person from the Church's History Division—whom I easily identified as Davis Bitton. Rees said they had solicited three responses for publication—one from Richard Bushman, one from Truman Madsen, and one from Hugh Nibley (the last, on the Pearl of Great Price). Rees believed that both Madsen and Nibley had agreed but said that Bushman declined on the grounds that this was unnecessary. Instead University of Utah historian James Clayton was going to respond. All things considered, I returned to Vietnam feeling very good.

In my naivete, however, I seem to have misread the space between the lines.

Truman Madsen, once having read what he termed my "irresponsible" article, refused to participate. "He was," Rees later wrote, "in fact, very frightened by the whole thing. His objections were, it seemed to me, for the most part silly and unfounded. But he ultimately said that it was a tar baby and he didn't want to get stuck."⁴⁷

Although I did not know it at the time, just a week later Rees received a lengthy phone call from Robert K. Thomas, professor of English and Academic Vice President at Brigham Young University. The heart of his message was, "if Lester Bush got the idea that the brethren were not upset by his article, he is mistaken." Rees took copious notes during this call, and transcribed them into a typed account just two hours later:

Brother Thomas began . . . by saying that he had heard some disturbing things about an article which Dialogue was going to be publishing on Mormonism and the Negro and that even though he had not seen the article the indications of the conversations that he had had made him feel that this was a Rubicon river for Dialogue. The initial inquiry or at least one of the inquiries came to [then BYU president] Dallin Oaks in regard to the quotation of the material from the Bennion papers which are at Brigham Young University and Bob said that because . . . materials from those papers were used in the Dialogue article, that Brigham Young University was going to be in big trouble. He said that he had gotten several calls . . . from several highly placed sources asking explicit questions about BYU and . . . in terms of his experience . . . over a long period of time the original source of those inquiries was unmistakably from the General Authorities. He said that if Dialogue prints Bush's article the brethren will think that Dialogue is hostile. He said that to this point that Dialogue has not been considered hostile but that the brethren will clearly think that if we publish this article. . . .

He said . . . the brethren are sensitive to this issue far out of proportion to what they should be and that if we publish it our publication of these materials will have ramifications far greater than anything we have done.

He indicated that the tone of some of the inquiries coming to him indicated that there would be absolutely no sympathy for those involved in the publication. . . . I [Rees] told him that we had made our editorial decisions a matter of prayer, that I as an editor had made no unilateral decision concerning this issue, that we had tried to be very responsible in what we were doing. . . . I further told him that a number of people who had seen this article, including Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton and Richard Bushman had all felt that it was responsible and should be published.

⁴⁷Rees, Letter to Bush, 9 July 1973. During my brief stop in Los Angeles, Rees mentioned that he especially liked my Uncle Remus quotations. However, in view of the events which shortly followed, he decided to delete them from the article. This was the only real editorial change that he made.

Bob Thomas said that he felt that we should consider the fact that a number of people are going to be ground up in this matter and that we should consider the implications for other people before we went ahead with publication. He said he could conceive of the situation that somebody associated with Dialogue . . . could be up for appointment as a department chairman at BYU and when he presented the name to the brethren he would get, he said, only a stony glance. What we are going to do we are doing to many people, and he said these people when once implicated, their judgment would never be trusted again . . .

[Thomas] indicated that one of the possible results of our publishing Lester Bush's article would be that the Church would lose its tax exemption for all of its temples where only whites can attend. . . . He said that he felt that the challenging of tax exemptions would only be a foot in the door and that this could lead to an opening of the Church books to public examination. . . .

He indicated that another one of the ramifications of our publishing this article would be that innocent people would be affected by it. He thought that Leonard Arrington would probably lose his job.⁴⁸

While Rees thought Thomas's comments "exaggerated" and "probably characteristic of someone who had been at BYU for 25 years and who is extremely paranoid about the brethren and their judgments," he nonetheless was very troubled by the implication that "vindictive action" would be taken. "If that is true," he reflected, "if the brethren can be so disturbed by something that is so well intentioned as this, which was so responsibly handled as this, then what does it say about the brethren[?]"

Just recently I've learned that there was more to this call than even Rees understood. Two years later, when the first issue of *Sunstone* was at press, Packer contacted *Sunstone* editor Scott Kenney to tell him he hoped that *Sunstone* was not going to be like *Dialogue*. As Kenney summarized the conversation, Packer was displeased (still) with *Dialogue*'s graphics and with the decision to publish my article "against General Authority counsel during a time of threats and violence against the Church."⁴⁹

Two days after the Thomas call to Robert Rees, Nibley mailed Rees his response to my article—with a handwritten note saying he had changed the original plan: "I junked the [my] article—you will have to settle for these few generalities. Do with them what you will. No time to pretty things [up]."⁵⁰

⁴⁸Rees, notes and transcribed notes on telephone call from Robert K. Thomas, 28 June 1973.

⁴⁹From a summary provided by Kenney to Lavina Fielding Anderson, 10 December 1993, based on a typescript account of the meeting written by Kenney immediately after the meeting.

⁵⁰Nibley, Letter to Rees, 30 June 1973.

Rees wrote with copies of the responses to my article and told me Madsen had withdrawn from the project, adding:

It's refreshing to find someone like Nibley who is so good and so independent that he doesn't have to worry about such political concern. It is the difference, I think, between a true intellectual and scholar and one who only has the trappings. In a sense, what Nibley did was write the article that Madsen should have written, so we still don't have a significant discussion of the Cain/Ham/Canaan tradition. Nibley wrote an article along those lines but scrapped it for the personal response which he makes. I feel that the personal response is in some ways much better although I hope that he gets around to doing the other as well.⁵¹

Then came more bad news, in a Rees postscript:

Latest development: Jim Clayton's Stake President worried him about letting *Dialogue* print his response to Bush and suggested that it could lead to disfellowshipping. President Lee is in Jim's Ward & everyone seems to be paranoid about his being so close. So Jim withdrew.⁵²

To this Rees added a cryptic note about the Thomas call, this being all that I knew about it at the time:

I also received a most threatening phone call from a friend of mine high in administration at BYU suggesting that there would be retributions for those involved in publishing these materials! I'll write you more in detail once I see the whole thing in print!

Half a world away, literally, I was oblivious to most of this emotional

⁵¹Rees, Letter to Bush, 9 July 1973.

⁵²James L. Clayton, responding to this manuscript in early 1999, related that he himself thought it would be prudent to contact his stake president prior to publishing his response to Bush's article in *Dialogue*: "In the ensuing conversation, the stake president, a personal friend, suggested that if anyone complained about this response, he would be required to take it before the high council. He said, in effect, 'And you know the conclusion those brethren would reach.' I understood what he meant: if I were seen as advocating that blacks receive the priesthood in opposition to the current policy, the high council would consider it apostasy and I would be excommunicated. I weighed the possible consequences to me, my marriage, and my family in a long weekend retreat with my wife against the possible good that Bush's article and the ensuing reviews might accomplish. My conclusion was that the possible negative consequences far outweighed the possible positive consequences. I then asked the editors to withdraw my response, which was embarrassing to me, since it was then in galleys. In my mind, this was a very graphic conflict between my personal and professional commitment to freedom of inquiry and freedom of speech vs. obedience to hierarchical authority."

upheaval, with additional input limited to a couple brief summaries sent by my brother, who had been in touch with Rees. He wrote:

Rees then made a phone call to Lowell Bennion, asking if he knew if anyone had ever had problems with Church membership because of printing material on this subject. Bennion said he knew of two people, but both had taken very immoderate positions on the subject.

Rees . . . talked it over with the staff. He offered to drop names from the masthead if any staff wanted to disassociate from the issue. . . . They had already deleted the quotations on the tar baby, and so really nothing could be laid to the article itself. . . . The self-appointed critics had never read your article, so they are obviously acting on another motive than what you have actually written. I suspect fear of what you may have written. . . .⁵³

My brother also added that Rees had said—facetiously, I hoped—that “he was staying away from the phone so he would not get a call from the higherups to stop the issue; he would hate to get a call from Pres. Lee’s office.”

The spring 1973 issue of *Dialogue* finally was published the second week in August, with my essay as the lead article.⁵⁴ Rees wrote a carefully worded introductory comment:

In the following article Lester E. Bush, Jr., discusses the genesis and development of [the] practice [of denying ordination to the priesthood to Negroes of African descent] within the Restored Church through an examination of historical materials. *Dialogue* is impressed with the thoroughness of Mr. Bush’s study and the responsibility with which he tries to interpret the materials to which he had access. Even though, as Bush states, the complete study of this subject is yet to be done, this article is an important beginning toward such a definitive study.

I later learned that Rees originally drafted, but eventually discarded a more pointed introduction:

. . . It should be stated that the editors of *Dialogue* have been counseled and exhorted not to publish the article by Lester Bush because its publication will be detrimental and harmful to the Church. We do not believe that this is true. We have learned and believe that the Gospel encompasses all truth. Brother Bush’s article is in the highest tradition of the search for truth. It cannot be in conflict

⁵³Larry Bush, Letter to Lester Bush, 25 July 1973.

⁵⁴*Dialogue*’s associate editor, Gordon Thomasson, very apprehensive about the impact that the publication of my article would have on *Dialogue*, had argued not only for accompanying responses, but also that my essay not be the lead, or even second article in the issue. Thomasson, Letter to Rees, 24 May 1973.

*with the Gospel of truth. We believe that Dialogue's failure to publish this article would be a disservice to the Church and all those who are concerned with living the Gospel in twentieth-century America.*⁵⁵

III

With the publication of this issue, I got my fifteen minutes of fame—albeit somewhat remotely since I was still in Vietnam. Six months after publication, I first was able to visit Utah, en route back from another medevac trip—fittingly, this time escorting a paranoid. I again wrote to friends about the trip:

[While there] I asked [Hartman] Rector [a family friend and a member of the First Council of Seventy since 1968] about [the Robert Thomas call to *Dialogue*], and he said that this type of “using” the [General Authorities] was not uncommon, and that there had been no “ground swells” about the article after I passed through, that Packer had delivered the official statement to me (that they would have [preferred] it not exist, but since it did, and since it was committed to publication, that was the end of it), that I personally was not under any condemnation (he even gave me a mild compliment on the article—nothing effusive, and said he believed many of the [General Authorities] had read it by now). He characterized the [Thomas] allusion to the [General Authority] position as a “lie,” though conceded that he knew some of the brethren had strong views, and couldn’t be sure about their private actions. . . . The mild compliment was his new opinion, inferred from my article, that had

⁵⁵Undated, Dialogue files. Rees did address some of the controversy publicly, in a talk at BYU sponsored by ASBYU Academics, just two weeks prior to publication. In his remarks on “The Liberty with Which We Are Made Free: Intellectual and Spiritual Freedom in the Restored Church,” he said: “I recently asked several people to respond to a very important article by Lester Bush, Jr., that will appear in the next issue of *Dialogue* . . . (and which will be, by the way, the most significant and responsible discussion on the subject that has appeared to this point). One of those I asked declined on the grounds that *Dialogue* should not publish such materials, that publishing them would only make matters worse. Another wrote an article but withdrew it after it was in galley proofs because he was warned that his Church membership could be in jeopardy for writing on such a subject. Another declined because he thought it was unnecessary to say anything other than what Bush had said. Another refused to respond because his Church position was too sensitive. All of these may be valid reasons, and my purpose in mentioning them is, not to pass judgment, but to illustrate that none of these reasons was valid for Hugh Nibley. Not only did he write a significant response to Bush’s article, but he defended the importance of having an open discussion on this subject.” Rees spoke as part of a summer series on “Academic Awareness,” which later was published as a small booklet, without date, *ASBYU Academics Presents Academic Awareness Summer 1973*.

Joseph Smith lived longer, blacks would not have been denied the priesthood.

Only once did I ever hear something more specific with regard to a potential impact on the Church leadership. This came almost a year later, after my family and I had been transferred back to Washington, D.C. En route to Washington I was again in Utah and visited briefly with Marion D. Hanks.

He asked how I had come to bring my material to [Elder] Packer, and I gave a brief history. . . . He said he would have to say that he was sorry that [my material] had come through Packer because there were several others who were better prepared to handle my information. I [told him that in my discussions with Packer] the impression had been clear that while the historical arguments involving Cain/Ham etc. were no longer considered suitable for open support, that these beliefs were still widely believed among the Church leadership in private. To this he both nodded in agreement and indicated that it wasn't universal.⁵⁶

During this visit, Hanks asked if I would send him some materials on another subject. When I finally was able to do so months later, he wrote back as follows:

This acknowledges the receipt of your choice material, and of your good letter. . . . I have much enjoyed the other material [i.e., my work on blacks and the priesthood] and will find it useful along the way, I feel certain.

The other copy you deposited with one of the Brethren probably had a far greater effect than was acknowledged to you or than has yet been evidence [sic]. Recent conversations suggest that this is so.

Thanks for the sweet spirit and the strong capacity and the courage in your efforts.⁵⁷

Years later Hanks made a similar comment to Gregory A. Prince, a student of early Mormon priesthood: "[Hanks] complimented Lester, and told me what Lester had told me years ago, namely that Hanks had told him that his article had had far more influence than the Brethren would ever acknowledge. . . . It 'started to foment the pot.'"⁵⁸

I would imagine that a more typical leadership response was that relayed to me later by Edward Ashment. At the time my article was publish-

⁵⁶From my note written immediately after this meeting, 22 October 1974.

⁵⁷Hanks, Letter to Bush, 10 July 1975.

⁵⁸Gregory Prince, notes on an interview with Marion D. Hanks, 27 May 1994; photocopy in my possession.

ed he worked in the Church Translation Division and, shortly afterwards, walked into the office of Apostle Bruce R. McConkie. McConkie was facing away in his chair, reading intently and, as Ashment approached, wheeled around and slammed the *Dialogue* with my essay down on his desk, and pronounced it "CRAP!" End of discussion.

The depth of dismay of at least one apostle was not apparent for almost ten years. A decade later, in March 1983, I was requested to appear before the Washington DC Stake presidency—of which J. Willard Marriott Jr. was then president—for what became a two-hour discussion of my research and writing on all subjects. At the conclusion, Marriott simply thanked me for coming in, and said something to the effect that he didn't see any cause for concern in my record. No further explanation was given. Over the next few weeks I learned of the "coincidental" interviews of several more *Dialogue* or *Sunstone* writers, so I asked Marriott for a follow-up meeting. He said he had received a telephone call from Apostle Mark E. Petersen, who had spoken "very harshly" about me over my publications on the "Negro Doctrine" and instructed Marriott to call me in and take some appropriate action. After talking with me, though, Marriott felt that no action was warranted, so just let the matter drop.⁵⁹

The nonleadership response to my article was generally much more positive—though the verdict was not unanimous. Someone early on passed along the hope of a member of his Salt Lake City carpool that I "rot in hell." Given its readership, *Dialogue* expectedly received overwhelmingly positive letters. One of the more forthright was from Helen Candland Stark, then the seventy-year-old matriarch of Mormon feminists. She said the article had been so definitive that "I now feel intellectually if not morally satisfied."⁶⁰ I thought that an excellent summation.

Most important to me was the positive response of professional historians, particularly people like Arrington and Bitton. During that first visit back to Utah six months after the article was published I also was able to speak with them—as I wrote to friends:

Most of my discussions . . . revolved around "what had happened" to me after publication—a subject of great interest to everyone I talked to. . . . Arrington said he had only heard favorable comments from others. Then added, that it went beyond that to a relief (his word) that it was finally out in print where it could be discussed, and made an analogy to the relief

⁵⁹The broader episode later was summarized in Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The LDS Intellectual Community and Church Leadership: A Contemporary Chronology," *Dialogue* 26 (Spring 1993): 7-64, esp. 20-22 and accompanying notes.

⁶⁰Helen G. Stark, Letter to *Dialogue*, 24 January 1974, copy in my possession.

felt when *Mountain Meadows Massacre* was published by [Juanita] Brooks. I was very pleased with his encouraging words.

IV

I'll conclude this narrative with three footnotes and one postscript.

The first footnote is that, having avoided a direct exchange with the Church over my article, per se, *Dialogue* managed to get back into the hot seat in its promotion efforts. Rees tried to place an ad which he thought would receive "100% readership" in the *BYU Daily Universe* and the *University of Utah Chronicle* which depicted a distinguished black businessman, captioned, "Darkies are fine people, and we have a place for them in our Church . . ."—a notorious Joseph Fielding Smith quotation printed in *Look* magazine years before.⁶¹ In smaller type was something about *Dialogue's* important new treatment of the subject, which Rees thought somehow "turned things around." The *Universe* turned it down; the *Chronicle* was going to carry it, but the university administration got word of it, and decided it was in bad taste. Somewhere along the line, the Church hierarchy became aware of the advertisement, and word reached Rees that this was the "last straw"—the First Presidency was going to issue a statement condemning *Dialogue*. So Rees called President N. Eldon Tanner and explained that the *Dialogue* issue had been an attempt to put something objective forward on a sensitive subject. Tanner apparently suggested that Rees simply write an explanatory letter to Lee, and that was the end of it.⁶²

The second footnote, and most impressive to me at the time, was a visit I had with Hugh Nibley during an October 1976 trip to Utah, my first and only visit with Nibley. To my amazement he told me that his published response to my 1973 article was just an effort to stall for time—"that's all," he was just trying to buy time:

He [explained that] he didn't know anything about the black-priesthood aspects of the Book of Abraham; that there were some interesting relationships in the old records, but no clear story

We went through the story in fairly great detail from Adam on down, and though he doesn't feel the final word is in, he says: He does not find any clear support for the priesthood denial/Book of Abraham relationship in early texts— or "I would be shrieking it from the house tops." He does *not* think the blacks are related to Cain, or the early Canaan, and probably not to Ham, Egyptus, Canaan or Pharaoh. He's unsure but

⁶¹Smith had been so quoted in a editorial note appended to Jeff Nye, "Memo from a Mormon," *Look*, 22 October 1963, 74-78.

⁶²Rees, Letter to Bush, 12 October 1973; Rees telephone call to Bush in early 1974, summarized in a letter to a friend dated 4 February 1974.

would guess now that Brigham Young was "wrong" relating blacks to Cain. He said—"we all have Negro blood"—there was intermixture everywhere. I asked about the accounts of the early patriarchs marrying apparent blacks. He exclaimed yes[.] I mentioned Moses—Yes. But the real "irony" was Joseph marrying a daughter of the priest of On—who he says by definition had to have been a Hamite—and their sons were Ephraim and Manasseh, who[m] we are all so proud to claim. He said it was as though the Lord was trying to tell us something.

I asked about the notion that the doctrine was a mistake initially but that the Lord was not interceding at present even if we ask "Is it time?" He said he would be "very uncomfortable" with that.⁶³

While disappointed that Nibley hadn't put these thoughts into his *Dialogue* response, they did prepare me for his more cryptic dismissal of the genealogical connection in his 1981 post-revelation *Abraham in Egypt*.⁶⁴

And the final footnote. In the weeks immediately following the priesthood revelation of 8 June 1978, there were rumors of a "400 page report made by the Quorum of the Twelve committee appointed by the First Presidency to analyze the Negro question." David J. Buerger eventually obtained a copy of this report and correctly surmised that it was my *Compilation* (though minus the introductory page which included my name and address).⁶⁵

However, while two or three copies of my sourcebook by then were in the Church archives,⁶⁶ I have no information to suggest its use in any

⁶³My summary notes, 25 October 1976. The meeting, 24 October 1976, included Omar Kader, who had arranged the meeting, and Ray Hillam, in whose home it took place. Both were members of BYU's Political Science faculty.

⁶⁴Hugh Nibley, *Abraham in Egypt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 134, addressing the question of why the Pharaoh was denied the priesthood which he "would fain claim from Noah, through Ham." It was, he wrote, "certainly not because of Ham" but rather because the Pharaoh traced his claim through the "matriachal line" rather than the "patriarchal,"—"In all of which there is no mention of race, though enemies of the Church have declared with shock and outrage that these passages are proof of Mormon discrimination against blacks."

⁶⁵Buerger also included a somewhat garbled history of this "book" in his short study of events surrounding the revelation. David John Buerger, "The 1978 Negro Revelation: A Unique Compilation of Events," July 1978, typescript, photocopy in my possession.

⁶⁶The first copy, which was also the shortest, was the version that I had given to the Cannons and which they sent to Packer, who later returned it to them. They gave it to Leonard Arrington who asked my permission to have it cataloged. The second copy, containing additional material, was the version that I sent directly to Packer. He said at our interview that he was sending it to the archives. Davis Bitton

leadership analysis of Church teachings. Prior to the revelation, President Kimball apparently asked quorum members to provide individually their views on blacks and the priesthood, but it would surprise me if anyone actually went to basic sources. If references were used, they likely were something akin to the Bennion papers and perhaps some of the published books and articles on the subject. If my own work was discussed to any extent, such a discussion would more likely have occurred in 1973 than 1978. The subject will be an interesting question for another generation to address.

V

And the one postscript. The First Presidency statement of 8 June 1978 announcing that “all worthy male members of the Church may be ordained to the priesthood without regard for race or color” was very carefully worded, without reference to blacks, *per se*, and without reference to any past doctrine on the subject. As I wrote in retrospect a year later, “a revelatory experience was alluded to, the priesthood made available to all ‘worthy males,’ and the subject quietly but firmly declared dead.”⁶⁷

But the subject is not dead. Although I would not have predicted it, an unresolved legacy of nineteenth-century beliefs has persisted in the form of the most racist of the former Church teachings, i.e., the anachronistic notions of black biblical ancestry. In my overview, I demonstrated an important shift in early twentieth-century leadership thinking. A nineteenth-century argument held that since blacks were denied the priesthood, they must have been less valiant in the “war in heaven”; in the twentieth century this causality was reversed—since blacks were less valiant in the war, they were to be denied the priesthood. An unfortunate variation on this theme continues to the present. The original justification for priesthood denial was that blacks were descendants of Cain. Now we are left, in essence, with the notion that since blacks once were denied the priesthood, they must have been descendants of Cain.

I concluded my 1973 “Overview” by saying that we had “the tools and would seem to have the historical resource material available to provide valid answers” to the important questions surrounding the policy of priesthood denial. This is true of the origins of what to all appearances are

requested a third copy, which included a supplement of eighty to a hundred pages, specifically to be cataloged as part of the archival collection. Later, at his own request, I sent Marion D. Hanks a fourth copy, containing even more material, but I do not know what he did with it.

⁶⁷Bush, “Introduction,” *Dialogue* 12 (Summer 1979): 9-12.

"anthropological" concepts imported into mainstream Mormon thought from nineteenth century science and contemporary Protestant theology.⁶⁸ It's time we completed the analysis.

⁶⁸A good starting point, now as in 1973, are the several references on the subject included in "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," notes 22-23.

“DO NOT LECTURE THE BRETHREN”: STEWART L. UDALL’S PRO-CIVIL RIGHTS STANCE, 1967

F. Ross Peterson

ON 16 MAY 1967, U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall sent a letter to David O. McKay, ninety-three-year-old president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This letter included an enclosure: another letter that had been accepted for publication by *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. Udall’s letter to *Dialogue* included a request that the LDS Church examine and then change its century-old policy of restricting priesthood participation by blacks.

Udall, a native of Arizona and a descendent of prominent Mormon pioneers, knew his letter would create controversy. That is why he simultaneously released a copy to the press. His words were forceful and clear: “The restriction now imposed on Negro fellowship is a social and institutional practice having no real sanction in essential Mormon thought. It is clearly contradictory to our most cherished spiritual and moral ideals.”¹

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¹Stewart L. Udall, Letter to the editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2 (Summer 1967): 5-7.

Fortunately, for Udall and the Church, Church President Spencer W. Kimball eleven years later announced a revelation that eliminated racial barriers to priesthood participation. The experience that led to the revelation was described by Elder Bruce R. McConkie as "something akin to what happened on the day of Pentecost and at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple."² It is likely that the reaction to and impact of Udall's letter is one of many events that led to the 1978 revelation which changed the policy.

Stewart Udall's entrance into the discussion relative to the LDS Church and its policy of priesthood exclusion came from a traditional background in the LDS Church. The grandson of David K. Udall, the long-time stake president and patriarch in eastern Arizona, and the son of Levi S. Udall, who succeeded his father as stake president and later became a justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, Stewart Udall knew Mormonism well. His mother, Louise Lee Udall, was the granddaughter of John D. Lee, so Udall also knew turmoil within the faithful.

As a high-ranking government official, Udall realized that one letter could make a difference and reached the decision to go public with his views after twenty years of inner turmoil about the Church's racial position and his own personal convictions. When Udall returned to the University of Arizona law school in 1945, age twenty-five, after an LDS mission to the Eastern States and a lengthy stint on a bomber in the World War II European theater, he not only possessed political ambition but a new social conscience. He quickly became a force in Tucson's Democratic party. He married Erma Lee Webb, a native of Mesa; by the time he served in the Cabinet, their six children had been born.

However, Udall privately expressed concern over the political and economic conservatism that seemingly dominated post-war Mormon leadership. His World War II experiences pointed him in the direction of social activism. During the war, he had joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1947, the year he finished law school and married, he wrote a note to himself on why he found it difficult to be in full fellowship within the Mormon Church. One reason was: "Fellowship is made difficult because too many members find it easy to be simultaneously devout Mormons and devout anti-Semites, lover of their fellow men in public and Negrophobes in private."³ His Institute of Religion instructor

²Bruce R. McConkie, "All Are Alike unto God," [no editor], *Charge to Religious Educators* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1982), 153.

³Stewart L. Udall, "I feel to state some of the reasons why I cannot be a practicing Mormon in full fellowship," 1947, typescript, Box 209, fd. 3, Stewart L.

at the university was Sterling McMurrin; joined by Boyer Jarvis, the three discussed the Church's official position on numerous occasions.

Three years later in 1951, Udall helped found the Tucson League for Civil Unity with an announced goal of overturning Arizona's numerous segregation and discrimination laws aimed at Native Americans, Hispanics, and blacks. During the 1950s, his father also struck a blow for civil rights by ruling that Native Americans could not be excluded from voting. When Stewart Udall successfully won a seat in Congress in 1954, he championed the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. In his three terms in Congress, Udall voted for both the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights bills and continued to follow and encourage the developing national civil rights movement.

When John F. Kennedy rewarded Udall for delivering the Arizona delegation at the 1960 Democratic Convention by appointing the forty-year-old Congressman as Secretary of Interior, no one anticipated that one of his first acts would concern civil rights. By 1961, Washington, D.C., had become a primarily black city. The federal government had just completed the construction of a new public athletic facility, the District of Columbia Stadium. In April, Udall requested that Interior Department Solicitor Frank J. Barry render an opinion on discrimination at any facilities administered by the Department of the Interior. Using court cases, executive order, civil rights laws, and the Fourteenth Amendment, Barry informed Udall that he could simply announce that there could be no discrimination at any federal properties, including the new stadium. The Washington Redskins of the National Football League planned to share the new stadium with baseball's Senators; however the Senators moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and became the Twins. In 1961 the Redskins were the only NFL team without even one black player and had nowhere to play if Udall denied them access to the new stadium. The city received an expansion baseball team, also called the Senators, but it had black athletes.

Consequently, Udall announced that the Redskins could not use the facility because of "discriminatory hiring practices." Throughout the summer of 1961, Udall and George Preston Marshall, the Redskins's owner, battled over whether Udall had the authority to deny them use of the stadium. The Secretary of Interior finally negotiated a compromise in which Udall lifted the ban for the 1961 season conditional on Marshall's promise to draft or employ black players by 1962. Marshall tried to persuade Presi-

dent Kennedy's father to intervene, but the President supported Udall, even though local press coverage was primarily negative.⁴

One result of Udall's activities in behalf of blacks was a barrage of negative mail, some of which reflected on Udall's Church's policy regarding the priesthood. Whether he liked it or not, Udall replaced Ezra Taft Benson as *the* Mormon cabinet member. Benson's dual positions as both Mormon apostle and U.S. Secretary of Agriculture automatically made him a Church spokesman. Udall never sought Church status, but the press assumed he occupied such a position. Many black organizations praised Udall for his actions but asked him specifically when his own church might change. C. Sumner Stone, the editor of the *Washington Afro-American*, wrote to Udall, "We don't believe that a man's religion undermines to any appreciable extent his feeling toward Negroes, but it is generally believed in America that Mormons are anti-Negro."⁵ Stone enclosed a letter he had received. It read in part: "Although Udall bragged about how much he hated discrimination, Mr. Udall is said to be a Mormon, holding a profound antipathy toward our Colored Race."⁶ Udall also received a letter on church letterhead from Valdosta, Georgia, in which the author admonished him: "Now as a member of the most segregated organization on earth, how can you tell a man who to hire on a ball club?"⁷ In short, although he received some support, it seemed that Udall had offended nearly everyone, but he never expressed regret at his decision.

In his stand, he was fully in harmony with the most important issue of the day. Nineteen-sixty-one was the year of freedom rides, sit-ins, and more civil rights demonstrations. The Kennedy administration, although cautious, sent federal marshals to protect freedom riders, assigned marshals to escort college students who had won the right to attend major Southern universities, and submitted a major new civil rights bill to Congress. All of these developments prompted Udall to write to LDS First Presidency counselors Henry D. Moyle and Hugh B. Brown on 18 September 1961: "I am

⁴Numerous articles on the Udall v. Washington Redskin controversy are available. Box 63, fd. 8 in the Udall Collection contains the original letters as well as the newspaper articles. At that point, the racism inherent in the name of "Redskins," currently a controversy in Utah, was far below the threshold of consciousness.

⁵C. Sumner Stone, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 12 September 1961, Box 63 fd. 8, Udall Collection.

⁶Bernard J. McDonald, Letter to Editor, *Washington Afro-American*, 11 September 1961, Box 63, fd. 8.

⁷William D. Wildes, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 28 March 1961. Box 63, fd. 8, Udall Collection.

deeply concerned over the growing criticism of our church with regard to the issues of racial equality and the rights of minority groups." After citing repeated inquiries and comments by "leaders who occupy positions of prominence" to characterize civil rights as a topic that was not going to disappear, he maintained: "It is my judgement that unless something is done to clarify the official position of the church these sentiments will become the subject of widespread public comment and controversy."⁸

Although Udall sent the letter in a "spirit of humility," the response discouraged him considerably. The two counselors agreed that the matter was of great concern and that the brethren were giving civil rights close, wise, and hopefully inspired attention. They then claimed that the LDS Church could do more for African Americans than any other church but fell back, as their final position, on a public statement by the First Presidency in 1949 and a letter from the same body to Lowry Nelson, famed Mormon sociologist in 1948, that both explained blacks as born into that lineage because of a lack of valiance in the pre-existence. Both documents also reveal a fear that social equality and integration would lead to intermarriage. To Lowry Nelson, the brethren had written: "We are not unmindful of the fact that there is a growing tendency . . . toward breaking down of race barriers in the matter of intermarriage . . . but it does not have the sanction of the Church and is contrary to Church doctrine."⁹ To Udall, Moyle and Brown added, "The fact is that we do not welcome Negroes into social affairs, because if we did, it would lead to intermarriage . . . and we cannot change that until the Lord gives a revelation otherwise." They concluded by saying that the early Church opposed slavery and Joseph Smith proposed compensated emancipation as a solution.

Although discouraged, Udall refused to let the matter rest. He clipped and cataloged the numerous articles in the national press which discussed the policy. As George Romney, Michigan's new Mormon Republican governor, took office, many columnists noted that the Church's policy could destroy him on a national political stage. Udall and his brother, Arizona Congressman Morris K. Udall, exchanged notes when *Newsweek* quoted President Joseph Fielding Smith as saying, "I would not want you to believe that we bear any animosity toward the Negro. 'Darkies' are wonderful peo-

⁸Stewart L. Udall, Letter to Pres. Henry D. Moyle and Hugh B. Brown, 18 September 1961, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection. It is not clear why he did not write to the full presidency unless it was because he had met these men personally.

⁹Qtd. in Presidents Hugh Brown and Henry Moyle, to Stewart L. Udall, 27 September 1961, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection. The question of whether those born into other colored races were also less "valiant" was not at issue since priesthood ordination was denied only to blacks.

ple and they have their place in our church."¹⁰ The younger Udall felt that the current leaders had grown up in a segregated America and a segregated church and did not share Stewart's concern that, as leaders of a Christian church, the Mormon hierarchy should be more inclusive.¹¹

In fact, Stewart Udall wished the Church would take the lead in the area of civil rights. He was greatly disheartened when Ezra Taft Benson published *The Red Carpet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962) theorizing that the civil rights movement was led and controlled by communists. He later repeated this claim in his *An Enemy Hath Done This* (Salt Lake City: Parliament, 1969). Cleon Skousen's *The Naked Communist* (Salt Lake City: Ensign, 1961), which reached similar conclusions, was also very popular among Mormon readers. Udall realized the Church would not move quickly.

In July 1963, Udall again wrote to President Hugh B. Brown, enclosing a newspaper article on Romney and civil rights. (Moyle, on the outs with McKay because of his lavish spending policies, would die in September in Florida.) This time, Brown's response encouraged Udall immensely. President Brown referred to a recent *New York Times* article that concluded the possibility for change was real; this article, said Brown, gives the "overall picture rather fairly." Brown added, the matter is "of very great and, I think, urgent importance to all of us." Then Brown told Udall that the Church might be "going to" Nigeria where a larger group of people had accepted the teachings and needed missionaries. President Brown concluded that letter with a wish that he could meet Udall soon and assured Udall that he was "hoping for Divine guidance in decisions that may be reached."¹²

Three months later, Brown spoke in October general conference giving the most explicit Church position on civil rights to date. After reaffirming the Church's support of the Constitution and that "all men are the children of the same God," Brown called upon all people, "within and outside the church, to commit themselves to the establishment of full civil equality for all of God's children."¹³

¹⁰Quoted in editorial note, Jeff Nye, "Memo from a Mormon," *Look*, 22 October 1963, 74-78.

¹¹Morris K. Udall, Letter to Stewart Udall, 7 May 1963, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

¹²Hugh B. Brown, Letter to Stewart Udall, 22 July 1963, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection. See discussion of this article in Lester Bush, "Writing "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview" (1973): Context and Reflections, 1998," note 4, this issue.

¹³Hugh B. Brown, *Conference Report*, October 1963, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan, Utah; hereafter cited as Special Collections.

Udall anticipated an announcement, yet nothing official came. During the next few years, the civil rights revolution dramatically accelerated and the strong commitment of Lyndon Johnson's administration often forced Udall into a defensive position. Cabinet colleagues and newspaper reporters chided him over the Church's inaction. Although not very active in the Church, Udall remained Mormon by culture and liberal by temperament. He keenly and strongly felt that the Church's position was morally indefensible. The attacks on the Church's policies in the national press rankled him.

He gathered and studied information from throughout the Church that indicated to him Church members were ready for a change. He preserved a purple-ink hectographed list from the 1950s of scriptural challenges from Lew W. Wallace, a California physician exasperated by the platitude that change could not come without a revelation, a position he found unscriptural. A 14 June 1965 letter from the director and associate director of the "Los Angeles Institute of Religion" called for all students to accept both Brown's statement and Joseph Smith's anti-slavery utterances. They concluded that to do less would be to ignore "the tragic lessons of . . . church history and the basic foundation of . . . religion, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."¹⁴ A paper written by Armand Mauss, then a member of the sociology faculty at Utah State University on "Mormonism and the Race Attitude" had been presented at the April 1965 Pacific Coast Sociological Association in Salt Lake City. Mauss later delivered a similar paper to a Church Education System gathering. A prepublication copy of an article Dennis Lythgoe, a graduate student at the University of Utah, had written for the *Western Humanities Review*, "Negro Slavery and Mormon Doctrine," agreed with Mauss that the practices of priesthood exclusion derived from an evolutionary policy and did not represent a revealed doctrine. Lythgoe disapprovingly quoted a 1957 talk by Elder Mark E. Petersen that aggressively defended racial segregation.

In 1966, after the eventual passage of civil rights legislation and the voting rights act, Udall decided to publicly challenge the Church to change. Udall drafted a letter, which he sent to Sterling McMurrin and Boyer Jarvis, his old institute associates. McMurrin was now a professor in the University of Utah Department of Philosophy and had been U.S. Commissioner of Education in John F. Kennedy's administration; Boyer Jarvis, McMurrin's assistant as commissioner, was now an administrator at the University of Utah. Udall also sent a draft to his brother Morris, Fawn Brodie, and other

¹⁴George T. Boyd and Howard C. Searle, Letter to students, June 4, 1965, Box 209, fd. 6, Udall Collection.

acquaintances. He entitled his brief essay an "Appeal for Full Fellowship for the Negro."

His cover letter to McMurrin is typical of Stewart Udall. He invited candid criticism and suggestions. "I am most anxious that the final document which goes to print be invulnerable to serious criticism by either scholars or theologians (save Joseph Fielding)." ¹⁵ McMurrin's response not only included many editorial suggestions for a lengthier, more exhaustive treatment but also urged Udall to use his government position to publish in national journals like *Harper's* or the *Atlantic Monthly*. Fawn Brodie advised Udall to be realistic and understand that "bigotry is endemic in the Church." She also surmised that if David O. McKay, her uncle, was younger, he might do something, but added, "I know . . . something of his private prejudices and would be astonished to see him abandon them at this late date." ¹⁶ After weighing the criticisms and suggestions, Udall decided to follow the advice of Hank Berenstein, a non-Mormon aide, who argued that "the prejudice is harming the Negro as much as it is damning and damaging the Mormon Church" and convinced Udall to address Mormons directly. He appraised *Dialogue*, which had been founded earlier that year, and advised Udall to submit the piece as a letter to the editor. ¹⁷ Morris and Stewart discussed the letter and its wording many times; after Stewart concluded to revise and shorten his essay and submit it as a letter, Morris simply warned Stewart that his views would have a greater impact if he were "not a Jack-Mormon." ¹⁸

Udall submitted the 1,500-word letter on 24 February 1967. Within the next two weeks, coincidentally, both *Time* and *Newsweek* published articles attacking the Church for its policy and speculating that the policy would seriously damage George Romney's bid for the Republican nomination. On 13 May Eugene England, *Dialogue's* editor, informed Udall that the letter would be in the summer issue, to be mailed on 17 May. Udall's papers contains no prior correspondence with England. The Interior Secretary immediately sent separate copies of his letter to the First Presidency (David O. McKay, N. Eldon Tanner, and Hugh B. Brown), to the two apostles from Arizona (Spencer W. Kimball and Delbert L. Stapley), and to George Rom-

¹⁵Stewart L. Udall, Letter to Sterling McMurrin, 29 November 1966, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

¹⁶Fawn M. Brodie, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 4 April 1967, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

¹⁷Hank Berenstein, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 20 December 1966, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

¹⁸Morris K. Udall, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 6 March 1967, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

ney, each with a different cover letter. He concluded his letter to McKay with a sincere assessment: "I want you to personally know that I have expressed myself with humility and utter honesty . . . and always with the prayerful thought that my action, will, in the long run, help, not harm, the church."¹⁹

A few excerpts from his letter establish the tone of his missive. After reviewing the Supreme Court decisions on civil rights and the concepts of equality, Udall moved to the heart of the matter:

We Mormons cannot escape persistent, painful inquiries into the sources and grounds of this belief. Nor can we exculpate ourselves and our Church from justified condemnation by the rationalization that we support the Constitution, believe that all men are brothers, and favor equal rights for all citizens.

This issue must be resolved—and resolved not by pious moralistic platitudes but by clear and explicit pronouncements and decisions that come to grips with the imperious truths of the contemporary world. It must be resolved not because we desire to conform, or because we want to atone for an affront to the whole race. It must be resolved because we are wrong and it is past the time when we should have seen the right. A failure to act here is sure to demean our faith, damage the minds and morals of our youth, and undermine the integrity of our Christian ethic.

Although Udall did not discuss what he viewed as the hypocrisy apparent in the policy, it is a thinly disguised aspect of the letter. He continued by asking his readers to develop empathy:

My fear is that the very character of Mormonism is being distorted and crippled by adherence to a belief and practice that denies the oneness of mankind. We violate the rights and dignity of our Negro brothers, and for this we bear a measure of guilt; but surely we harm ourselves even more.

Then Udall urged his Church leaders to have the courage to change the policy immediately:

Every Mormon knows that his Church teaches that the day will come when the Negro will be given full fellowship. Surely that day has come. All around us the Negro is proving his worth when accepted into the society of free men. All around us are the signs that he needs and must have a genuine brotherhood with Mormons, Catholics, Methodists, and Jews. Surely God is speaking to us now, telling us that the time is here.

"The glory of God is intelligence" has long been a profound Mormon

¹⁹Stewart L. Udall, Letter to David O. McKay, 16 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

teaching. We must give it new meaning now, for the glory of intelligence is that the wise men and women of each generation dream new dreams and rise to forge broader bonds of human brotherhood. To what more noble accomplishment could we of this generation aspire?²⁰

Udall also released a copy of his letter to the *New York Times* and Associated Press on the day *Dialogue* was mailed. Obviously, Udall wanted press exposure, and he was not disappointed. The extensive national coverage focused on Udall's plea for a change in the Church's policy. The reaction from within the Church was more complex; in addition to those who approved, many disapproved—both that the letter had been written and also that he had released it to the national media so that it could not be treated as an in-house expression in an internal periodical of limited circulation.

The personal response to Udall's letter was immediate and varied. Within a week, he received hundreds of letters, telegrams, and notes. *Dialogue* also received numerous letters; but because the journal is a quarterly, they were not published until the fall issue. In retrospect, Udall was not surprised by the number of responses, but he was amazed at the intensity of the negative responses. He called them "a fascinating cross-section of Mormon thought on the issue."²¹ Most letters are violent but short attacks on Udall that say nothing about the issues he raised. The following samples should be illustrative of the tone.

You absolute NUT! . . . The Carmichael & the Kings and the Muslims—why don't you hit where the enemy lies.

Why don't you transfer to some other faith?

The fact that your parents were Mormons [sic] before you were born does not make you an authority on running the affairs of the Church of Jesus Christ.

I feel that you are not even worthy of the government position you hold when you use *your* church for your own benefit.

Who made you so omnipotent that you feel you can solve a problem. Abel could not solve nor Adam nor Lincoln or Eisenhower . . . or who do you think you are to presume you can force . . . David O. McKay to open up the windows of security on the Negroes?

If apostates like you would keep their mouths shut, there would not be

²⁰Udall, Letter to the editor, 5-7.

²¹Stewart L. Udall, Notes, 1 January 1968, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

any reproach brought upon the church in the minds of the uninformed or ill-informed public.

It seems to me that you have one foot in the church, one in your governmental job and an extra foot in your mouth.²²

Five Democratic families who claimed to be sixth- and seventh-generation Church members and Democrats sent a telegram demanding, "Why are you trying to get the priesthood for other people when you value it so lightly[?]"²³ An Arizona woman warned, "You know what happened to Lucifer when he told God how to run affairs. . . . Don't make a fool of yourself for your worthy ancestors sake."²⁴

Many of the Mormon respondents, obviously seeing Udall as having gone theologically astray, bore their testimonies. A large group saw Udall as politically motivated to derail Romney's candidacy. Two Yale medical students denounced the letter as "an unethical attempt to embarrass Governor George Romney."²⁵

In contrast, Udall was heartened by Church members who expressed support. Esther Peterson wrote: "Just read your *Dialogue* letter—Splendid! Congratulations." Lowry Nelson added, "I'm proud of you. . . . Would that a little of your courage could get piped into the . . . headquarters." Wayne M. Carle, a former bishop and the Assistant Superintendent of Ohio Schools wrote: "Your letter says so well what many of us believe so deeply. It is encouraging indeed to have such a statement from a person in high office, and to have it put in such eloquent words. I hope it is read and understood at 47 East South Temple." Cousin John Udall at the UCLA Medical school stated, "You are dead right—most of all we harm ourselves by continuing to maintain a posture of superiority."²⁶

Especially revealing of the relief expressed by many liberal, educated Mormons who had long been troubled by the priesthood denial policy were

²²Letters to Stewart L. Udall from: Anonymous, 20 May 1967; W. A. Bernheim, 20 May 1967; Don C. Horne, 20 May 1967; Carl R. Dearden, 19 May 1967; Gerald T. Judd, 20 May 1967; Alfred M. Knight, 22 May 1967; James Williams, 29 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

²³Barkers, Hornes, Driggs, Rices, Christensens, 19 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

²⁴Mrs. H. C. Brown, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 19 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

²⁵Romney Burke and James Ogilvie, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 21 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

²⁶Letters from: Esther Peterson, 19 May 1967; Lowry Nelson, 21 May 1967; Wayne M. Carle, 13 June 1967; John A. Udall, 21 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 4, Udall Collection.

these letters: W. Grant Ivins, a former BYU professor, wrote: "Let me congratulate you. This is a courageous statement of sentiment shared by thousands of Church members. For one of your stature to take the lead in this long overdue movement for change is most heartening." Boyd Mathias, a law professor at the University of Pacific hoped "that this doctrine is changed before too many people have to pay the price of self-deception in order to be Mormons in the Twentieth Century."²⁷ Both letters confirm a pattern apparent among the mail Stewart Udall received. Most professionals, especially those in education, were inclined to praise him. The authors of negative letters seem to be non-professional Church members who wrote in long hand and did not use official letterhead.

There was no response from any of the members of the First Presidency; however, Stapley and Kimball both wrote within the week. It is possible that they were instructed to respond, but they chose very different styles. Stapley wrote a four-page single-spaced letter labeled "personal and confidential." He asked specifically that the Interior Secretary not release any of it to the press and stated, "I know I can trust you with the contents." The letter is a theological defense of racism as well as personal rebuke for releasing the article for "national consumption." Stapley saw the article as "a stumbling block to George Romney" or any other Mormon who might seek national office." He reminded Udall that, in the Church, "instruction and guidance come down from above and not from below." After reviewing the history of how the Lord "selects" a chosen people, Stapley reiterated that "God himself placed the curse . . . and it is up to him and not to man to lift that curse." Stapley concluded by saying his letter did not require an answer and he "appreciated" his friendship "with you and the Udall families for whom I have great love and respect."²⁸

Spencer Kimball's letter, sent a day earlier, took the tone of an upset and disappointed father. Obviously, the eastern Arizona connection between the Udalls and the Kimballs was long and personal. After some introductory comments, Kimball began at the third paragraph: "Stewart, I cannot believe it! You wouldn't presume to command your God nor to make a demand of a Prophet of God!" After examining what he considered Udall's possible motives, Kimball concluded: "It was the result of a sincere but ill-advised effort in behalf of the welfare of a minority." Kimball expressed his pride in Udall's accomplishments and prominence but contin-

²⁷H. Grant Ivins, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 23 May 1967; O. Boyd Mathias, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 5 June 1967, Box 209, fd. 4, Udall Collection.

²⁸Delbert L. Stapley, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 26 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

ued the lecture: "My dear Stewart, neither your eminence in secular matters nor your prominence in government circles has justified you in any such monumental presumption." He warned Udall not to clothe such a serious matter in "ragged, human apparel," explained that his own response was motivated by a desire for Udall's good because he felt sorry for him, said he felt no anger toward him, signed the letter with "sincere kind wishes," and then underlined the three words.²⁹ Kimball's response is significant in that he did not defend the policy but asked Udall to respect the manner in which change comes to the Church. He reminded the Secretary of the Interior that members were presumptuous to assume that anyone but God and the prophet could alter the bestowal of the priesthood.

The next two issues of *Dialogue* also carried a number of letters relative to Stewart Udall's letter. Obviously, they varied in tone but were often much longer and responded to the specific issues Udall raised. Those opposed to his view often took the position of Vernon Romney, later Utah's attorney general, who queried, "By virtue of what Church standing does Udall presume to lecture the brethren on their doctrine?" Paul Richards, later BYU spokesman under three university presidents, added, "Mr. Udall must think the church is made up of extremely gullible people. Otherwise he never would have set himself up as he did to try to influence the members."³⁰ One of the most interesting letters chastised Udall for being moralistic and naive but also conceded that the Church would be in an anthropological dilemma if it started to define who was and was not Negro. Gary Lobb wrote from Brazil about the reality of blacks holding the priesthood there because of a totally different view of ethnicity and race. He also raised the question of why Fiji men could be ordained while the Papuans of New Guinea could not.³¹

Udall admits to being stung by some of the letters but, uncharacteristically, chose not to reply to any of the personal notes or letters, whether positive or negative, including those of the apostles. He was trying to keep Lyndon Johnson, beleaguered by the Vietnam War, somewhat focused on national parks, seashores, monuments, and a constructive new policy on Native Americans. Udall wanted to create an open discussion and make Church leaders aware that many active believers did not accept this cen-

²⁹Spencer W. Kimball, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 25 May 1967, Box 29, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

³⁰Vernon Romney and Paul Richards, Letters to the editor, *Dialogue* 2 (Fall 1967): 5-6.

³¹Gary Lobb, Letter to the editor, *ibid.*, 7-8.

tury-old practice of discrimination. He publicly opened the debate but then stepped back to see where it led.

Udall confided his pleasure a month later when President Hugh B. Brown, addressing the annual June Youth Conference, told Mormon teens and their leaders: "We must dethrone our prejudices, cancel our conceit and with humility continue the quest which will involve new appraisals of values." Brown added: "Change, which alone is permanent, calls for reviewing of past decisions and bases upon which they are founded." He defined "the dignity of man" as the "essence of democracy. . . . Our democracy presupposes the right of every minority[,] even of only one person, to differ with the opinions of the majority."³²

It would be presumptuous to assume that one letter to the editor precipitated a revelation eleven years later, but it is one of many significant events that created discussion, research, and thought. With tempered hope, George S. Ballif, a Provo lawyer, wrote Udall: "We are not too sanguine that the 'revelation' ending the long standing discrimination will result directly from what you said." A highly respected scholar of Mormon history George Ellsworth confided his belief: "There is no development in Mormonism quite so inharmonious with the fundamental doctrines . . . than the position that has developed through the years with regard to the Negro." Ellsworth lamented the little disposition manifest among the General Authorities to change the policy. "How shall we best work on it?" he asked.³³

The social unrest of the period kept the issue in the forefront for many years. Wherever the athletic teams from Brigham Young University ventured from Wyoming to Colorado or Stanford, demonstrations protested the policy. Many black athletes refused to play against the Church-owned school. In 1969, Church leaders issued another statement affirming full support of civil rights legislation but left the expansion of priesthood blessings "in the hands of the Lord."³⁴ Mormon scholars continued to publish serious examinations that challenged the nineteenth century's origins and speculated as to how the ban came into being.³⁵

³²"Mormon Leaders Support Civil Rights," *Arizona Republic*, 24 June 1967.

³³George S. Ballif, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 1 June 1967, Box 209, fd. 4, Udall Collection; S. George Ellsworth, Letter to Stewart L. Udall, 17 October 1967, Box 209, fd. 5, Udall Collection.

³⁴First Presidency Statement, *Church News*, 16 December 1969.

³⁵For an excellent review of the literature, see the bibliography in Lester E. Bush Jr. and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984), 227-30, including Bush's own magisterial "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," *Dialogue* 8 (Spring 1973): 11-68. See his "Writing 'Mormonism's Negro

In the meantime, the Church appointed committees to study the policy, sent missionaries to Nigeria, organized the all-black Genesis group in the Salt Lake Valley, and constantly reexamined attitudes among the membership. Still many Church leaders continued to defend the practice, relying on interpretations of the Old Testament, the Book of Abraham, and Brigham Young's speeches to justify the restrictions. However, an evolution of thinking and questioning pervaded the Church at all levels, including the very highest. Some scholars have speculated that Church leaders periodically prayed about the ban and requested guidance. Eleven years after chastising Stewart Udall for publishing his letter, President Spencer W. Kimball announced that the Lord had spoken and the priesthood could be conferred upon all worthy male members regardless of skin color (D&C Official Declaration-2).

By 1978, Stewart Udall, age fifty-eight, was back in Arizona practicing law, championing environmental issues, and leading the charge of Navajo uranium mine and mill workers in a legal battle with the federal government. When he heard of the revelation, he was thrilled that the change had come and that Spencer W. Kimball had announced it. Later Udall said, "I consider President Kimball the most inspired Mormon president of this century and he did the right thing."³⁶

It is intriguing to attempt to assess Udall's motivation for writing his 1967 letter. Is Udall's liberal social conscience rooted in his Mormonism or a challenge to it? Is there genuine continuity in all of his activities, or did the unusual doctrinal question of blacks and the priesthood stand out? If so, did it educate his sensibility and prompt his empathy toward Native Americans, Hispanics, and uranium mine and mill workers?

In searching for these answers, it is necessary to return to the memo Udall wrote in 1947, outlining his fundamental disagreements with his church. Udall firmly believed that theological and historical Mormonism were incompatible with post-World War II political conservatism. Among his points were many that discussed the Church's historical role among the poor, the oppressed, the disadvantaged, and the working class. In his world view, Mormonism needed to recapture a moral position that would put it on the leading edge in a 1960s world where activism and questioning generated "creative tension." He certainly succeeded in this instance. Recalling this incident, Udall still remembers as perhaps his most important personal

Doctrine: An Historical Overview' (1973): Context and Reflections, 1998," this issue, for a record of his experiences.

³⁶Stewart L. Udall, interviewed by F. Ross Peterson, 24 April 1997, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

statement his final sentence in his letter to President David O. McKay, " I have expressed myself with humility and utter honesty . . . and always with the prayerful thought that my action, will, in the long run, help, not harm, the church."³⁷

³⁷Stewart L. Udall, Letter to David O. McKay, 16 May 1967, Box 209, fd. 3, Udall Collection.

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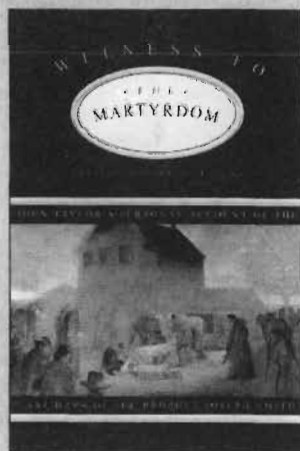
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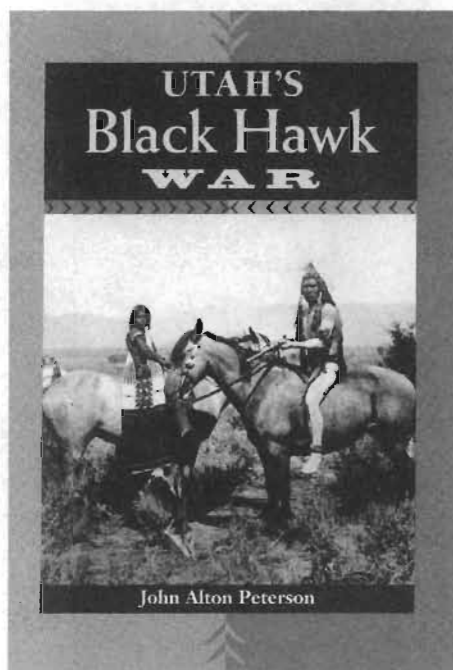
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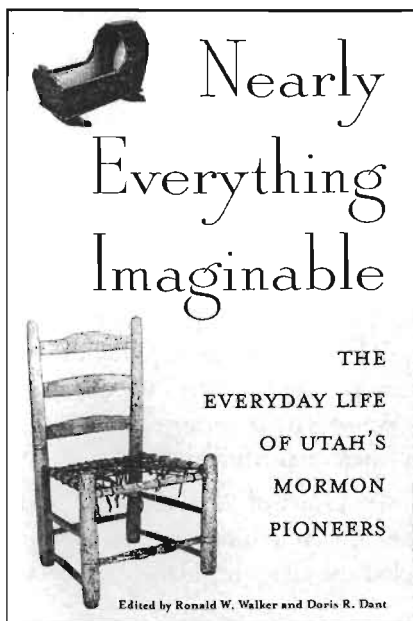


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